

The Figurines of Tureng Tepe:
Ceramic Bodies and Social Life at a Bronze Age site in northeastern Iran

Honors Research Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for graduation
with honors research distinction in Anthropology
in the undergraduate colleges of The Ohio State University

by

Kyle Gregory Olson

The Ohio State University
May 2012

Project Advisor: Dr. Joy McCorrison, Department of Anthropology

Acknowledgements

As we all know, no scholastic endeavor is possible without the support and collaboration of many. I couldn't have accomplished this research without the financial support of the following institutions, or without the advice and guidance of the following people:

I would like to thank the following offices for their financial support of my research: the Undergraduate Research Office, the Honors & Scholars Center of the College of Arts & Sciences at Ohio State, the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Ohio State, the College of Humanities at Ohio State and the Ohio State University Undergraduate Student Government.

As regards particular scholars who have supported my work, I would first and foremost like to thank Dr. Christopher P. Thornton for everything he has done to help me accomplish this project. It was he who invited me to visit the University of Pennsylvania Museum (henceforth UPM) in the autumn of 2010, who read drafts of my essays and papers, who advised me on all matters archaeological and professional, and who graciously hosted me at his home during several of my trips to Philadelphia. None of this work would have been possible without his support!

In addition to the support I have received from Dr. Thornton, the support of Dr. Joy McCorriston has also been especially integral to my research activities. She helped me from the very beginnings of this project to focus my research interests and to seek out opportunities. Once I had a definite project, she acted as my advisor at Ohio State, and wrote countless letters of recommendation, signed innumerable forms, and counseled me along the way. I am eternally grateful for all the advice and assistance she has given me during my time as a student at Ohio State.

I would like to thank Dr. Holly Pittman many times over for securing my access to the collections at UPM. Many thanks are in order to Alex Pezzati and Eric Schnittke for all of their help in the UPM Archives. I also would like to greatly thank Katy Blanchard, the curator of the Near Eastern Collections at UPM, for her assistance and support while I was studying the artifacts from the Tureng Tepe collection. In addition to the UPM staff, I would also like to thank Anne Bomalaski for renting her apartment to me during my longest stay in Philadelphia and for all the professional advice she has given me over the course of the project.

To the members of my committee, many thanks! Dr. Margaret Mills supervised me for the independent study that was the genesis of this thesis, and without her encouragement and advice, this project may never have happened. Dr. Mark Moritz introduced me to doing research. Plain and simple, he was the first faculty member at OSU to put their trust in me to be a part of the research process. Over the course of the two projects he has directed that I have been a part of, I learned more valuable insights about doing anthropology than from any other experience, home and abroad, that I have had 'in the field'. To the both of you, as well as Dr. Joy, thank you so very much for everything!

To my Arts & Sciences advisor Emily Sanders-Boltz for all her assistance and reassurance during times where things were uncertain and multiple pieces of the puzzle were up in the air I extend a great big thank you! I also would like to thank Dr. Morgan Liu, who provided me with much thought-provoking feedback on earlier versions of the theoretical aspects of this thesis, and for inviting me to present my work at the Central Eurasian Studies Society Conference in September of 2011.

I would like to thank Matthew Senn for his help in conceptualizing my data presentation; he wields Ockham's razor like few people I have ever met. I am forever thankful to the following people for reading and commenting on drafts of various aspects of this thesis: Dr. Joy McCorriston, Dr. Christopher P. Thornton, Dr. Morgan Liu, Dr. Russell Zanca, Amanda Turner, Katelyn Oster, and Mark Jenkins. Last but not least I would like to thank Ben Richards for all his help with reading the Russian language sources on figurines from Turkmenistan.

Last but not least I would like to thank my family for putting up with me during the final run in to finishing this paper. This wouldn't have been possible without you!

I take full responsibility for any errors in thought, judgment, interpretation and presentation. The people mentioned above have helped me greatly, but any mistakes in this thesis are ultimately my own.

Abstract

The figurines of Tureng Tepe are a remarkable collection of terracotta anthropomorphs that are unique in both a micro- and macro-regional context. Their significance has long been recognized, but systematic investigation into this corpus of figurines has not been forthcoming. Previous scholars who have engaged with this material have generally agreed that these figurines are evidence of various kinds of Goddess worship. This study calls that assumption into question on theoretical and empirical grounds. In order to ‘test’ this hypothesis, this thesis documents the figurines through a revised typology, as well as morphological, stylistic, and contextual analyses. It finds that based on these figurines there is no evidence to suggest the existence of worship of a Mother Goddess. The corollary of performing this analysis was a reformulation of the fundamental questions at the heart of figurine studies from “what” questions to “how” questions. This shift allows for not only an anthropological analysis of the significance of these figurines vis-à-vis the negotiation of different social identities, but also in terms of a cross-cultural analysis. It is proposed that by investigating the semeiotic ideologies that were materialized through figurines, we can begin to build a picture of the process of identity negotiation in the Ancient Near East at both a local and regional scale during the Bronze Age.

Table of Contents

	<i>Page #</i>
List of Tables	5
List of Illustrations	6
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
Chapter 2: Adventures in Theory and Method Through Figurine Studies	10
Introducing the Goddess	12
The Goddess Deconstructed	17
What does the Deconstructed Goddess leave us with?	22
Contextual Analysis	24
Breakage Analysis	29
Gender and Identity	31
The Politics of Representation & Semeiotic Ideologies	35
Summary	46
Chapter 3: Previous Work at Tureng Tepe	48
The Wulsin Expedition	51
Daher Thesis	58
The Deshayes Excavations	62
Summary	68
Chapter 4: The Typology of Tureng Tepe Figurines	70
Axes of Typological Division	72
Stone Figurines	74
Clay Figurines	75
Descriptive Summary of the Types	76
Summary of Typology	100
Chapter 5: Analysis	104
Sex/Gender Analysis	104
Breakage Analysis	108
Contextual Analysis	111
Comparanda	127
Results and Implications	131
Chapter 6: Conclusion	142
Bibliography	146
Appendix: Catalog, Photographs & Drawings	154

List of Tables

	<i>Page #</i>
Table 3.1: The Radiocarbon Sequence of Tureng Tepe	67
Table 4.1: Typological Inventory – Stone Figurines	74
Table 4.2: Typological Inventory – Clay Figurines	75
Table 5.1: Figurine Fragments Inventory	108
Table 5.2: Level 1 Figurine Contexts	112
Table 5.3: Level 1 Figurine Types	112
Table 5.4: Level 2 Figurine Contexts	113
Table 5.5: Level 2 Figurine Types	114
Table 5.6: Level 3 Figurine Contexts	115
Table 5.7: Level 3 Figurine Types	116
Table 5.8: Level 4 Figurine Contexts	118
Table 5.9: Level 4 Figurine Types	118
Table 5.10: Locus 1 Distribution	119
Table 5.11: Locus 2 Distribution	121
Table 5.12: Locus 3 Distribution	123

List of Illustrations

	<i>Page #</i>
Figure 3.1: Map of Northern Iran (Mahfrozzi & Piller 2009:177)	48
Figure 3.2: Overhead Aerial Map of Tureng Tepe (Schmidt 1940)	52
Figure 3.3: Aerial Photo of Tureng Tepe, view to the South (Schmidt 1940)	53
Figure 3.4: Plan Map of Excavations (Drawn by F.R.W. 1931, UPM Archives)	54
Figure 3.5: Profile of West Mound Excavations (Wulsin 1932: Pl. III)	56
Figure 3.6: Ceramic Periodization by Elevation	59
Figure 3.7: Level 1 Plan Map (107.96-106.10m)	60
Figure 3.8: Level 2 Plan Map (106.10-105.20m)	60
Figure 3.9: Level 3 Plan Map (105.20-104.70m)	61
Figure 3.10: Level 4 Plan Map (104.70-104.00m)	61
Figure 3.11: Red Figurine from Deshayes 1963	63
Figure 3.12: Figurine Fragment from Deshayes 1965	64
Figure 3.13: Deshayes's Grey Lady (Deshayes 1965)	65
Figure 3.14: Deshayes's Chronology of Tureng Tepe (Deshayes 1969)	66
Figure 4.1: The Wulsin Tureng Tepe Figurine Typology	70
Figure 4.2: The Revised Tureng Tepe Figurine Typology	71
Figure 4.3: Figurines from Gonur (Masson & Sarianidi 1973: Tabl. IX)	77
Figure 4.4: Figurines from the Astarabad Treasure (de Bode 1844)	78
Figure 4.5: Stone Hourglass Figurine from Tepe Hissār (Schmidt 1937)	79
Figure 4.6: Anthropomorphic Vessels from Shah Tepe and Tepe Hissār	80
Figure 4.7: The Male Figurines from Mārlik (Negahban 1979)	86
Figure 4.8: Male Figurines from Nausharo (Samzun 1992)	87
Figure 4.9: Male Figurines from Harappa (Clark 2009)	88
Figure 4.10: Namazga IV/V Figurines (Masson & Sarianidi 1973: Tabl. I)	94
Figure 4.11: Susa Figurines of the Ur III Period (Dales 1960:110)	95
Figure 4.12: Female Figurines from Tell Asmar (Dales 1960)	96
Figure 4.13: Seated Female Figurines of the Indus (Jarrige 2005)	98
Figure 4.14: Seated Female Figurines of the Kopet Dagħ (Antonova 1979)	99
Figure 5.1: Morphological Distribution of Sex/Gender	105
Figure 5.2: Morphological Distribution of Completeness	109
Figure 5.3: Morphological Distribution of Fragment Types	110
Figure 5.4: Map of the Study Area (adapted from Kohl 2007:3)	129

Chapter 1: Introduction

In prehistoric societies without a textual tradition, it is often the case that the only evidence that we have about the religious practices or the construction of identities that must have been part of the social lives of these peoples are little broken bits of long discarded artifacts. Terracotta figurines have been recovered from many prehistoric sites around the world, and are usually interpreted by scholars as having a variety of religious or social significances. Often these figurines are small, fragmentary, and only vaguely anthropomorphic in execution. In some rare examples, however, we have a lot more than just little smashed pieces of partially fired clay objects, but realistic depictions of the human form in terracotta, such as the collection from Tureng Tepe. This remarkable collection of anthropomorphs from Tureng Tepe constitutes the most expressive and largest corpus of human representations from a Bronze Age site in northern Iran. It is not only significant in terms of its uniqueness in the immediate region, but in all of the Ancient Near East as well.

In this thesis I will seek to accomplish several interrelated goals: first, in Chapter 2, I will explore the figurine literature in order to derive testable hypotheses in order to evaluate different interpretive traditions in figurine studies as they relate to this dataset. Second, in Chapter 3, I will trace the contours of past archaeological research at Tureng Tepe to help situate this data in its archaeological context, both in terms of the actual dirt from which the artifacts came, but also in terms of the scholarship that has made it possible for me to accomplish my research today. In Chapter 4, I will present a revised typology of the Tureng Tepe figurines

that I hope will finally help make this rich collection more accessible for future study. Finally, in Chapter 5, I will present a gender analysis, a breakage analysis, a contextual analysis, a semeiotic analysis, and a comparative analysis of the figurines in order to help answer the question of “how were these figurines meaningful in prehistoric life?”.

The ultimate results of this study have been the empirical documentation of this collection, the sorting of the data into a workable typology, preliminary comparative work, and basic culture historical and anthropological analyses. What these analyses showed was that, despite the convictions of the original excavator, there is little reason to believe that the figurines from Tureng Tepe are evidence of a Mother Goddess religion at the site.

Rather, my theoretical and analytical work has suggested that in the absence of text, it is pointless to try to fix the meaning or function of prehistoric figurines, as the meanings and functions of figurines were likely to have shifted over the course of their use-life, and crucially, to have differed between various social actors. Perhaps at one point they may have been representations of particular Gods or Goddesses, but to be satisfied with that explanation alone is to stop short of far more interesting anthropological questions that I believe can be answered by looking at the *chaîne opératoire* associated with these figurines, in whole or in part. Additionally, we can document the different semeiotic ideologies that worked on and through these figurines by tracing the choices the makers used in depicting or not depicting certain traits, or the presence persistent clusters of traits that appear across categories, through space, or across time. Such analyses need not be

restricted to attribute analyses, but can be conducted on morphology, construction, use-wear, and deposition. These patterns can be significant, especially when one takes a step outward to a more broadly regional perspective and attempts a cross-cultural analysis of prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines. It is argued that an analysis of figural semeiotic ideologies may be the only feasible way to engage in cross-cultural analysis of such a disparate and fragmentary dataset. Nevertheless, I decline to draw any specific conclusions about the nature of inter-regional interaction on the basis of figurines other than to suggest directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Adventures in Theory and Method through Figurine Studies

Clay figurines have inspired impassioned scholarship since archaeologists first began to recover them from the ruins of ancient sites around the world. Debate has gone back and forth over the last century and a half over the significance of these objects. Scholars have mainly been concerned with answering questions such as “what do figurines depict or represent?”, “what do figurines mean?”, and “in what ways were figurines used?”. Despite the massive amount of ink spilled on this topic, in many ways, figurines remain enigmatic to this day. Surely, few other objects that archaeologists commonly deal with have provoked such heated and unresolved interpretive tension.

This is especially true of figurines from formative contexts around the world, such as the Near Eastern Neolithic, in which the figurines are at best vaguely anthropomorphic; as a result, scholars have had to come up with ingenious methods to try to propose answers to the above-mentioned questions (e.g. Broman 1958, Ucko 1968, Voigt 1983). Even when you have much less ambiguously anthropomorphic figurines, such as the collection from Tureng Tepe, it does not necessarily become easier to answer such seemingly-simple-but-actually-quite-complex questions. The figurines of Tureng Tepe are an exceptional collection, albeit one that has sadly gone understudied. Scholars working with ancient Near Eastern figurines have long noted the significance of this collection for cross-cultural analysis of Bronze Age figurines in the broader Near East (cf. Dales 1960, Masson & Sarianidi 1973, Antonova 1979). In addition to their interest in interaction and diffusion, many of these scholars have been interested in determining how best to

interpret the meaning of the figurines. Interestingly, many of these scholars have generated similar interpretations of the significance of these ceramic objects. Generally speaking, scholars working with similar kinds of data to that from Tureng Tepe have often uncritically assumed that the figurines are evidence of the existence of fertility goddess cults, the cult of the Mother Goddess, or fetishes/votives used in agrarian cults.

In this chapter I will examine the specific interpretations of scholars working with similar materials and relate these claims to the broader literature concerning interpretive problems in figurine studies. This discussion has an important consequence, in that it prompts a reframing of the fundamental questions of figurine studies from “what” questions to “how” questions. This seemingly small semantic shift actually allows us to take into account the subjectivity and agency of the makers and users of the figurines, as well as that of the figurines themselves. In particular, asking “how figurines depict or represent” and “how do figurines mean”, turns out to be a productive avenue for anthropological investigation of figurines.

This shift allows for more than just culture-historical and typological analysis, but also for gender analyses, analyses of breakage, analyses of context, and analysis of the visual narratives and material discourses implied by the particular features of the figurines themselves. This is of course not a breakthrough discovery in figurine studies, but a path that many scholars have gone down over the course of the last two decades (cf. Lesure 2002; Bailey 2005). Nevertheless, such analyses can help provide the basis for systematic comparison that was first attempted by Dales,

Masson & Sarianidi and Antonova in order to help piece together the figural world of the Ancient Near East and to investigate it anthropologically.

Interpretations of Figurines at a Regional Scale – Introducing the Goddess

Fredrick Wulsin was the first scholar in this region to address the question of the meaning of figurines, or what figurines were. His answer to this question is clear, insofar as he argues that “the figurines are probably connected with the worship of the great Mother Goddess, which was widespread in western Asia throughout antiquity” (Wulsin 1932:10). At the time, this sort of argument was received wisdom in some circles, as classicists and art historians had long demonstrated the existence of votive statuettes connected with different cults across the ancient Aegean and Near East in historical periods (Ackerman 1938; cf. Meskell 1995).

At the time of Wulsin’s writing, the idea that clay figurines universally represented goddesses or even the Mother Goddess was not necessarily a monolithic paradigm, however, but it certainly was a fashionable and widespread one. To be sure, as Ackerman points out, “the female figurines have provoked various controversies. The first and most important has concerned their identity[;] [...] the obvious, generally accepted conclusion is that they represent the Fertility Goddess, an earth and mother deity whose cult was widespread” (Ackerman 1938:198). She acknowledges that archaeologists have offered other identifications, such as tokens standing in for human women put in graves to satisfy post-mortem sexual needs, temple votive offerings, fetishes used in puberty rites, or fertility charms. Ackerman wasn’t personally satisfied with these interpretations, however, as she argued that

iconographic and textual evidence can allow the specific identification of figurines as depicting particular goddesses.

As regards this concern, Ackerman points out that much of the controversy over figurines's identification as divinities stems from issues related to their headgear. Despite the different arguments on either side, Ackerman concludes that these concerns are ultimately a non-issue, and have no bearing on whether the figurines represent deities. Regarding the figurines under consideration in this thesis, Ackerman attempted to establish the divinity of the Tureng Tepe figurines, as the "Astarabad and Damghan figurines are [depicted] in the pose most typical of the Syro-Hittite goddesses shown on the seals, with both arms extended". She even proposes a specific identity in pointing out that "there is a carefully indicated slipper on the foot, a surprising detail and interesting, for a hymn to Anahit emphasizes her beautiful shoes: *ankle-high she weareth foot-gear – golden, latched, and shining*" (see citation in Ackerman 1938:212-13).

As can be seen, the excavator and the first art historian to look at these figurines drew similar conclusions about what they depicted and what they meant, though at different registers of specificity. While Wulsin did not put a great deal of effort forth toward understanding these figurines, Ackerman discussed them at length in her essay on the topic of "Cult Figurines" (1938). The primary common ground between their thinking regards the probable ritual or cultic significance of the figurines. In terms of other scholarship on Tureng Tepe, unfortunately, Jean Deshayes only makes passing mention of the figurines he excavated at Tureng Tepe;

we can make an guess at his thinking, however, as he never challenges Wulsin or Ackerman's interpretations of the figurines from the site.

Looking to nearby sites with female figurine finds, we see that other scholars differed in their interpretations. For instance, T.J. Arne, who found similar figurines at Shah Tepe is thoroughly unconvinced by the Goddess interpretation, arguing that "the female statuettes have generally been regarded as fertility goddesses; but one must say that the figures have been treated with little respect when for example the breasts have been purposefully knocked off" (Arne 1945:254). In his report on the Tepe Hissār findings, Schmidt does not actually put forth an interpretation of the female figurines. The same is not true for sites with similar figurines to the north in Turkmenistan.

Indeed, Soviet scholars who studied the voluminous figurine finds from Yu.T.A.K.E. and subsequent excavations are nearly unanimous in their conclusions on the topic. For them, figurines unquestionably represent the Mother Goddess or other deities. This argument is first seen in a variety of preliminary publications in the 1950s and '60s (cf. Frumkin 1970), but it becomes codified in the monograph that Masson and Sarianidi published on the topic in the early 1970s (Masson & Sarianidi 1973). On the basis of ethnographic analogies and Sumerian texts, Masson and Sarianidi argue that these figurines represented the various deities of a mostly feminine pantheon. As a corollary, the authors hypothesize that these figurines were used as ritual objects in the performance of the rites of an agrarian cult.

According to Gregoire Frumkin, who summarizes Masson and Sarianidi's work published prior to "Central Asian Terracottas of the Bronze Age" (1973), they

noted a chronological shift from 'realistic' figurines in the most archaic period toward the seated conventionalized violin shaped figurines with outstretched arms to the ultimately unrealistic symbols of women with broad hips and emphasized sexual attributes (Frumkin 1970:139). Despite chronological shifts in iconography, the interpretation of the meaning of the figurines remains the same.

E. Antonova was the next scholar to tackle the topic, and her monograph built on the work by Masson and Sarianidi. She broadens the geographic scope of inquiry and is more explicit about methodological problems. She combines chronological study of these figurines in each region with a stylistic analysis of their forms and decorations to conclude that the female figurines have a strong semantic connection to domesticity and the world of animals. She argues that the figurines could have been participants in seasonal rites, and notes that the general absence of male figurines suggests that either males were not part of this particular type of religiosity or participated in an entirely different realm of ritual practice. She does not, however, attempt to dispel the Goddess interpretation; indeed, she acknowledges that alternative interpretations are possible, such as one which sees figurines as markers of difference in social identity, or as fetishes symbolizing fertility or as earth goddesses (Solovyova 2005; Piotrovsky 2003:357). The remainder of Antonova's and other available Soviet scholarship on figurines does not seriously challenge the interpretation of figurines as Goddesses (cf. Berezkin 1981; Masson 1981; Masson & Kiiatkina 1981; Sarianidi 1981, Masimov 1981).

The most recent major publication on this topic in Turkmenistan is a monograph by N. Solovyova that concerns the Chalcolithic figurines from Ilgynly-

depe. Her overall analysis of the figurines attempts to build on Antonova's contention that the figurines are not simple depictions of any specific being, but rather a combination of images which served many functions – not least of which to bring together the subject and object of ritual performances (Solovyova 2005:24-5). Her interpretations, self-admittedly, struggle with the issue of equifinality, however; she contends that these figurines can equally be taken on their own terms to depict multiple deities, a single deity, spirits, images of ancestors or real people, children's toys or counters for games. She acknowledges that some of these interpretations carry more weight than others, and indeed, she tends to accord the figurines more ritual significance than any other.

In the region immediately surrounding the Gorgān, including Semnān and Turkmenistan, scholars working with figurines have taken a number of positions regarding their identity and interpretation. Some, such as Arne and Schmidt, remain skeptical of interpretations of the figurines as Goddesses. Soviet scholars working on sites in the Kopet Dagħ foothills and in Margiana, however, are much more in favor of such interpretations. In many ways, this is due to the seminal work of Masson and Sarianidi, whose conclusions became received wisdom over the years.

The only scholars who are truly explicit about their reasoning behind such interpretations are Ackerman, Masson, and Sarianidi. Interestingly, they all draw on textual sources from Mesopotamia in building their argument. I remain skeptical of the utility of such analogies, but given the other parallels between these sites and Mesopotamia (e.g. monumental architecture and clear evidence of trade, Kohl 1978; Tosi 1974, 1979; Kohl 2007; contra Ratnagar 2001), it is tempting to use such

primary sources in interpreting these material remains¹. Nevertheless, Ackerman and Masson & Sarianidi are in no way the only ones who have interpreted figurines as Goddesses. In order to make sense of regional trends in figurine scholarship, it is necessary to examine the Goddess Thesis in a broader scholarly context.

Interpretations of Figurines at a Global Scale - The Goddess Deconstructed

Viewing figurines as cultic or in some way religious is part of a long-standing interpretive tradition in archaeology and anthropology that first became fashionable in the mid-nineteenth century. Figurines came to be seen as the primary evidence for the existence of a religion based on a great “Mother Goddess” worshipped in prehistory. The “Mother Goddess” thesis first appeared explicitly in 1849, when Eduard Gerhard proposed that “behind the various goddesses of classical Greece stood a single great goddess, venerated before history” (Gerhard 1849:103, as in Hutton 1997). Such hypotheses were incorporated into early anthropological paradigms of social evolution, and subsequently arrived in archaeology via work of several social theorists, notably Johann Bachofen, Sir James Frazer, Lewis Henry Morgan and Friedrich Engels (Talalay 1994:171-172; cf. Meskell 1995). This early anthropological scholarship was primarily focused on explaining the evolution of human societies, but at such an abstract level as to be practically useless to actual interpretation of real archaeological data. Despite the fact that subsequent scholarship discredited many of these evolutionist theories, the 1950s and 1960s saw a resurgence of interest in prehistoric goddess worship.

¹ It is odd, however, that the only study that systematically examines Mesopotamian texts from this time-period for references to figurines, does not present any textual evidence supporting the interpretation of clay figurines as representing goddesses (cf. Nickerson 1979, also see references in Dales 1960:256-260).

In the mid-twentieth century, the work of scholars such as Marija Gimbutas and Jaquetta Hawkes helped to revive what I will call for ease of reference the “Goddess Thesis” (Talalay 1994; Meskell 1995; Hutton 1997). In a number of publications that were influential both within and outside of archaeological scholarship, Gimbutas argued that the prevalence of female figurines from prehistoric Greece and the Balkans was evidence of “an early, pan-Mediterranean belief in a Great Mother Goddess, a matriarchal social structure, and a time when women rule either supreme or at least in partnership with men” (Talalay 1994:165). Working in a similar vein, Hawkes proposed and vigorously defended a theory that Neolithic societies were women-centered, peaceful, creative, lived in harmony with nature and worshipped a single goddess (see citations in Hutton 1997). Taken together, these ideas form the core of the “Goddess Thesis”. Nevertheless, while both Gimbutas and Hawkes were hugely influential in archaeology and popular literature, their work inspired as much consternation as inspiration, especially within academic circles.

Despite the enthusiasm and passion of the defenders of the “Goddess Thesis”, many archaeologists have strongly criticized this body of work (cf. Haaland and Haaland 1995). On the one hand, it is important to note that many scholars *do* recognize that there is evidence for worship of goddesses in historical periods across the eastern Mediterranean (Talalay 1993; Bolger 1996; cf. Ucko 1962, 1968). Based on this evidence, it is easy to see why the “Goddess Thesis” has had such staying power among both laypeople and archaeologists. But on the other hand, even in historically documented periods, the “Mother Goddess” is not the sole deity

in the pantheon of any society for which we have records. Such interpretations are not limited to just the Aegean and the Balkans, but are also found in the Near East as well. Thanks to the clear evidence for worship of goddesses in later periods, including Inanna, Ishtar, and Astarte, some archaeologists such as Sir Arthur Evans labeled any nude prehistoric female images as representations of one or the other of the Great Goddesses (Talalay 1994:167; cf. Hutton 1997). The main and most lasting criticism of this kind of thinking is that it fails to take into account the diversity and spatial patterning of prehistoric figurines and in so doing reifies theoretical constructs divorced from data (Ucko 1962).

As would be expected, attempts to project the “Mother Goddess” cult further back in time into prehistory has proved to be problematic at best (Ucko 1968, 1996). Among other criticisms, Talalay argues that the religious significance of clay figurines was taken for granted by a number of scholars who addressed the topic in their publications. One of the major critiques of the “Goddess Thesis” has always been that scholars who espouse it are sloppy in their use of data and overly simplistic in their understanding of prehistoric symbolism and religiosity. This critique is not even taking into consideration the serious modern political implications of the “Goddess Thesis” vis-à-vis first wave feminism, ecofeminism, and ‘New Age’ religion; as Meskell argues, the “gynocentric narratives [...] reveal more about our relationship(s) with the past and certain contemporary ideologies (Conkey 1992) than how these figurines were deployed in antiquity” (Meskell 1995:87).

At best, the “Goddess Thesis” has been highly controversial, and its relationship with archaeology has often been contentious, to say the least. To this point, however, the discussion has avoided the question of how one would actually evaluate this thesis against archaeological data. How could such a thesis be tested? To my knowledge, no one has actually formulated a specific procedure for conducting such a test, and indeed, it is a bit silly to formalize the question in statistico-deductive language. Nevertheless, there are certain criteria that can help to navigate this storm of interpretive controversy. One important question scholars have raised recently is: why should we treat analysis of figurines any differently than other items of material culture? It is striking that basic analytical questions are often ignored when the Goddess Thesis is deployed. Often, the fact that the figurines are nude, female, and have prominent sexual features is enough evidence for scholars in this tradition to determine a figurine or set of figurines to be Goddesses.

If we are break from this tradition, and to systematically evaluate the figurines and properly interpret their significance in prehistoric social life, we must pay close attention to how figurines were constructed, altered, modified, broken, used, re-used, repaired, redecorated, or disposed of by prehistoric people (cf. Tringham & Conkey 1998). Also important to consider is what we know about other items thrown away with the figurines. Were there some objects never disposed of with figurines? Was the breakage accidental or deliberate? What materials were the figurines made of? What is their spatial distribution? These questions can help us not only evaluate the relevance of the “Goddess Thesis”, but also to develop new theories about figurines as well.

Concerning the final question raised above, the focus on context is especially important, as figurines have often been used in circular arguments to prove or disprove the rituality of a given context (cf. Talalay 1993:39). If one is to claim that figurines had ritual significance, one must pay attention to way figurines fit into a ritual frame, or the social, cultural, spatial and temporal context of rituality in a given prehistoric society (Verhoeven 2002). In some cases, an interpretation of figurines as ritual devices can be seen as appropriate, such as in the PPNB of the Levant (cf. Verhoeven 2002; Cauvin 2000). In other cases, it is not an appropriate interpretation, due to the absence of ritual framing, among other particularities. While context is critically important, as per the questions raised above by Tringham and Conkey, it is also necessary to document and closely analyze the physical and observable characteristics of figurines in order to interpret their meaning (cf. Broman 1958, Clark 2007). Using both lines of evidence is the best way to help interpret figurines in a consistently rigorous analytical manner that does not privilege abstract theory over data.

To summarize, as we have seen, the “Goddess Thesis” used by Wulsin and Ackerman in their interpretation of the Tureng Tepe figurines has its roots in 19th century thinking, which has persisted to the present for a variety of reasons, despite intense critique from many archaeologists (cf. Talalay 1994, Meskell 1995, Ucko 1996). Critically, however, most of these critiques have occurred at philosophical registers; they are questions primarily of ontology (what actually exists) and epistemology (to what extent is it possible for a given subject or entity in the past to be knowable). That is to say, they don’t directly concern data. The following sections

detail how we can build theoretical arguments about figurines from the data upward.

What does the Deconstructed Goddess leave us with?

In order to move from theory to data, it has become clear that we need to redefine the central question at the heart of analysis of figurines. As Bailey (2005) and Lesure (2002) argue, it is necessary to reframe the question from “*what* do figurines mean” to “*how* do figurines mean”. The main reason for this is because asking *what* figurines mean can be an impossible question to answer in many cases (cf. Nakamura & Meskell 2009). In pre-literate societies, we have no textual sources to consult, and given what we know about the instability of semeiotic ideologies, it can be impossible to pin down specific meanings for material objects (cf. Keane 2005). Additionally, the “what” questions also presume that material culture is a passive container onto which pre-formed cultural ideas are mapped. Such conceptions of material culture have increasingly come under fire in recent years, because they fail to fully capture the range of ways in which people interact with the material world (Bailey 2005; Boivin 2008; Hodder & Hutson 2003; Keane 2005; Nakamura & Meskell 2009). Clearly a new approach is necessary to explore a more active material culture, one that is not only shaped by culture, but that also shapes culture as well.

One way to do this is to ask *how* figurines mean. This can be accomplished by asking the same questions that Tringham and Conkey proposed, as these allow us to observe the ‘social lives’ of figurines, i.e. the material traces of how they were made, how people interacted with them, and how they were treated after they were no

longer useful. Put simply, asking *how* questions treats figurines as an active process of making, viewing, modifying, circulating, breaking, discarding and so on, rather than as simple inert objects or mere representations. There are many advantages to thinking in this way. For example, posing questions about figurines in this manner avoids the functionalist trap of asking “for what were these figurines used?”, which leads to frivolous debates over whether figurines were charms, fetishes, teaching instruments, toys, or voodoo dolls. For as Tringham and Conkey argue, “there are certain to have been multiple perceptions and interpretations of the figurines by the prehistoric social actors themselves” (1998:42-43). Certainly along with these multiple perceptions and interpretations, there would have been multiple uses as well, an idea that is well borne out by ethnographic observations (cf. Ucko 1968).

Taking this into consideration, it becomes important observe variation in the treatment of figurines and the distribution of different types or attributes, patterns that may speak to their cultural and social significance for prehistoric actors. The resulting analyses cannot only provide counterpoints to the “Goddess Thesis”, but also can help shed light on issues regarding gender and other social identities, as well as the politics of visual narrative and material discourses.

The following sections are an exploration of different methodologies relevant to the analysis of the Tureng Tepe collection that might help us to answer the questions that derive from asking *how* figurines mean, rather than *what* figurines mean.

Contextual Analysis

Context has long been acknowledged to be important to the interpretation of figurines. Beginning with Peter Ucko's work in the 1960s, scholars have been concerned with analyzing the relationships between figurines, the features and sediments they were deposited in, the artifacts and features they were found in association with, and with other forms of visual expression depicting the human form. There are scholars who dismiss the importance of context as a valid methodology for investigating prehistoric figurines (e.g. Bailey 2005), but most scholars in the field recognize that the utility of any method must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. There is no doubt that it is silly to rule out an entire category of data *a priori* in any form of analysis unless there is an incontrovertible reason for doing so (e.g. if all of the artifacts under consideration were surface finds or purchased from an art dealer). Nevertheless, this section explores some of the different ways scholars have examined context vis-à-vis figurines, with an eye toward the utility of applying these methods to the Tureng Tepe corpus.

The earliest systematic method for evaluating figurines was developed by Peter Ucko in the 1960s, which ushered in a new era in figurine studies. His goal was mainly to compare the figurines of several different regions during the Neolithic in order to answer the question of what the figurines were. His method was primarily typological, but he based his typology on co-varying patterns of material type, morphological features, use and disposal, rather than on *a priori* categories. He placed a special emphasis on context as important for interpreting the use and meaning of figurines. While Ucko's work caused a major shift in archaeological

thinking about figurines, it was not until much later that his innovative methodological strategy was further built upon by other scholars.

In her excellent monograph on the Neolithic site of Hajji-Firuz Tepe in Iran, Mary Voigt adds context type, find-location and associated materials as additional categories to Ucko's typology (1983). Voigt's main contribution toward our ability to empirically document figurines is her reframing of her earlier additions to Ucko's context categories into a tri-partite distinction between different kinds of contexts: that of the immediate archaeological context (the dirt), the immediate cultural context (the behavior that might account for the location and condition of figurines at a given site) and finally the culture-historical context (the broader supra-site social context) (Voigt 2000). Voigt's contributions mirror those of Tringham and Conkey, who suggest that archaeologists could profit from asking the same questions of figurines and their depositional contexts as those which are asked of other categories of material culture. In this paper, the contextual analyses will primarily follow the lines that Voigt laid down in looking at the dirt context, the depositional context, and the culture-historical context of figurines.

Building on Voigt's work, Lauren Talalay proposes that studies of the use and meaning of figurines should incorporate at least four kinds of evidence: the figurines themselves, their archaeological contexts, the particular socioeconomic context in which the figurines function and ethnographic analogies (1993). Ucko was also in favor of using ethnographic analogies, but I find them to be circumspect. On the one hand ethnographic analogy can tell us that the possible uses and interpretations of figurines were capable of shifting over time and in relation to the people who used

them. Additionally, they can provide interesting hypotheses to test using prehistoric figural data, such as about the significance of ratios in gendered representation, or any number of other attributes. Unfortunately, as we often have no access to the verbal discourses regarding figurines in the past, and we cannot observe them being used in their original contexts, ethnographic analogies can be misleading or not terribly helpful for interpreting prehistoric figurines, because the basis for comparison may not be adequate between the two societies. Regardless, a pattern is emerging, insofar as dirt contexts, depositional contexts, and social contexts are the most important dimensions of contextual analyses of figurines (cf. Kuijt & Chesson 2005).

Jonathan Mabry lends support to this notion by providing some practical methodological examples to support his claim that early Neolithic figurines in the Levant were representations of ancestors rather than of goddesses or being fertility fetishes; similarly to Talalay, he suggests that we can transcend previous understandings of figurines by assessing correlations among patterns in the archaeological contexts, artifact associations, imagery and treatment of human figurines. He further argues that these archaeological contexts extend to the study of human representations in media other than figurines in the same milieu, as well as to broader social and ideological changes in these societies. In addition, his attention to the details of figurines suggests a number of dimensions of analysis that would be useful for analyzing the figurines from Tureng Tepe. He discusses contexts, depositional associations, treatments (i.e. deposition and use-wear), representation of gender and age, representations of reproduction, schematization,

standardization, postures, gestures, hair, clothing, jewelry and bodily decoration. He combines these with spatial and temporal patterns to develop a robust method of describing figurines (Mabry 2003).

Melissa Vetters highlights the importance of the social context of the production of figurines in her 2011 topic on the production and consumption of figurines in Palatial Mycenae. She points out that, when possible, one must examine the operational chain involved in producing the figurines in order to get at their place in the realm of craft production. She argues that if figurine-making can be understood within the framework of technical know-how and craft-making, then we might be able to better understand how figurines circulated and who used them in prehistoric societies by identifying where the figurines came from and comparing it to where they ultimately ended up (Vetters 2011).

As the preceding discussion shows, a number of scholars have emphasized the importance of context in interpreting figurines. Not all archaeologists are on board with this, however. In fact, Douglass Bailey contends that both the detailed examination of the specific archaeological contexts of figurines and the use of quantitative and archaeometric methods are of little to no utility in studying prehistoric figurines. I disagree, as the contextual approaches Bailey eschews are important because every object exists within many relevant dimensions at once, thus, where any object or data exists, there also exists a robust network of associations and contrasts or oppositions which can be examined in order to build towards interpretation of the meaning of the data (cf. Hodder & Hutson 2003).

The most relevant context for a given object whose meaning we may try to

discern are all of those aspects of the dataset that have relationships with the given object which are relevantly patterned, i.e. associated finds, find-spots, wear patterns and so forth (Hodder & Hutson 2003:188). It is important to note that a given object can be anything – a motif, an artifact type, an attribute or any number of other phenomena – and that particular archaeological cultures do not define contexts, but are rather components or aspects of contexts. Thus if we are to be able to interpret figurines at all, a consideration of context is of paramount importance – for without an understanding of the context in which these representations of the human form were produced, used and deposited, what can we meaningfully say about them? Without context, we are right back where we began with the “Goddess Thesis”.

Contextual analysis is significant because “attention to the archaeological context can imply meaning from the material practices within which ‘figurines’ were enmeshed” (Meskell, Nakamura, King, and Farid 2008:139). As we are interested here in “how figurines depict or represent” and “how figurines mean”, it is important to be able to tease apart the network of relationships in which the figurines existed in prehistoric life. In this paper, the most important kinds of context to be considered will be the immediate dirt context, the depositional context, and the immediate social context. Unfortunately, there are massive gaps in the available data that hinder the utility of contextual analyses in a full reconstruction of a ‘figural life-world’ at Tureng Tepe, but the data does allow us to answer some important questions.

Breakage Analysis

Breakage analysis has been a part of figurine studies since Peter Ucko's foundational monograph in the late 1960s. While it was only a tiny part of Ucko's analytical framework, breakage is seen as an important method by many figurine scholars (cf. Nickerson 1979, Biehl 1996, Vetter 2011). The fundamental idea behind analysis of breakage is that based on ethnographic and textual analogies we might be able to propose functional identifications for figurines or to better understand their meaning and use. This idea has been picked up and elaborated upon most notably by Mary Voigt and Peter Biehl. In this section, I will discuss the key theoretical and methodological points relating to breakage analysis.

Breakage is ultimately only one part of Mary Voigt's analytical method for figurines. Her goal was to discern functional classes of figurines based on behavioral residues rather than ideology. Her belief was that among these behavioral patterns, use and disposal were among the most important, because differences in function would be reflected in different patterns of behavior. In terms of use, the categories of data she was most interested in were: a) kind and degree of wear, b) location of wear, c) breakage patterns, and d) evidence of burning (Voigt 1983). She was interested in looking at patterns in these attributes, as she believed that morphology was rarely a good indicator of function (excepting of course elaborate and well-preserved figurines). As far as specifics are concerned with her methodology, she was primarily interested in the number and location of breaks, but breakage was just one among many criteria used to determine functional classes. Nevertheless,

her work is an inspiration in terms of theoretical, empirical, and analytical rigor, even if for the most part I am not using her functional approach.

Biehl's interest in breakage largely stems from looking at patterns in decoration and whether fragmentary pieces can be used as part of his larger typology. He does, however, make some excellent methodological points about how to analyze breakage. He makes an analytical distinction between two kinds of breakage: a) potential breakage/point of fracture, and b) non-potential breakage/point of fracture. This is a distinction between breakages at structurally weak parts of the figurine (for example, the neck, arms, legs etc.) versus at structurally strong parts of the body such as the torso. He notes that a large proportion of breakages occur along the first and weaker axis, but there are also examples of breakage along the second and stronger axis. His argument is that breakages along structurally strong points of the figurine's body could indicate intentional breakage. The corollary of this is that patterns in such intentional breakage could indicate that the broken parts or the act of breaking itself held some significance (Biehl 1996:167). Such patterns of breakage, along structurally weak or along structurally strong points can be compared across type, space, and time, which provides another angle along which to empirically document and analyze the Tureng Tepe corpus.

In this thesis, a preliminary breakage analysis will be conducted. The main focus will be on the location of major breakages, specifically comparing breakage along axes of structural strength versus structural weakness in order to see if there is evidence for intentional fragmentation. It must be mentioned that the kind of

breakage under consideration here is not the same as the fragmentation formulated by Chapman. He was interested in looking at the structured deposition of intentionally broken objects, whose fragments then began a social life all of their own. Central to Chapman's thesis is the idea that the circulation of these fragments of artifacts enchain people to in a web of social relationships. While Chapman's ideas are certainly thought provoking, a fuller engagement with this kind of fragmentation may need to be the subject of another study.

Gender and Identity

Much scholarship throughout the recent history of archaeological attention to figurines has focused on gendered representation. Archaeologists have long been interested in identifying the gender and or sex of anthropomorphs; many have attempted to use this information to generate hypotheses and theories about the makers, the uses and meanings of these figurines (cf. Meskell 1996; Hamilton 2000). Scholars are generally aware of interpretive problems brought on by focusing on determination of the gender or sex of an anthropomorphic representation, and indeed, many figurines are sufficiently schematic or poorly preserved enough to prohibit such identifications. On top of that, there are many gender/sex-ambiguous figurines known from the record (Mina 2007). These figurines may have no identifiable sexual features, or a combination of both 'male' and 'female' attributes, suggesting that gender and sex could have been conceived of as a gradient rather than poles of identities. It is widely acknowledged today that gender and sex are socially constructed categories that are irreducible to physiological sex and should not be essentialized into static binarisms (Knapp & Meskell 1997; Yates 1993).

If we use figurines as a point of entry into the semiotic systems of prehistoric cultures, we can then see that such discourses of the body (gendered representations) only make sense if we consider both the human body and the terracotta body as both signifying and signified. Such bodies not only can constitute a subject, but can also be the “object of systems of social coercion, legal inscription and sexual and economic exchange ... [making the body] the political, social and cultural object *par excellence*” (Knapp & Meskell 1997:185 [cf. citations therein] emphasis in the original).

Knapp and Meskell further argue that we ought to “regard the body as a material, physical and biological phenomenon irreducible to immediate social processes or classifications ... [and that] it is important to recognize that the body is not merely constrained by or invested with social relations, but also forms a basis for and contributes towards these relations” (Knapp & Meskell 1997:188). The authors acknowledge that these arguments are not to take away from the importance of sex or sexual categories, but rather, that they are meant to question the primacy of these classifications, and to open up investigation into the intersection of sex/gender with class, ethnicity, religion and other major axes of difference.

In my view, the major contribution of this scholarship to our understanding of prehistoric figurines is its insistence that identities such as gender or sex are “social affiliations that guide cultural and personal behavior that have abundant material signifiers”. Indeed, these identities “may be multiple, and are invoked under different circumstances and for various reasons during an individual’s

lifetime” (cf. citations in Knapp & Meskell 1997:200). Similarly, Marie-Louise Stig Sørensen proposes that gender is a form of social identity that is constituted through practices, meanings, attitudes, and values. She argues that in order to be able to understand gender in prehistory we must investigate social institutions, social relations, categories and values and how these phenomena vary and are reproduced through time and space.

Sørensen posits that we should analyze the interplay of all of these factors (and more) to see how they would have affected the identification and experience of difference between people – one of the most important registers of difference of course being gender (Sørensen 2007:47). She sees the process of constructing gender as one of negotiation – which allows her to tie the construction of gender directly to materiality, insofar as materials and resources are the medium through which such quotidian negotiations are made, understood and experienced (ibid).

The connection to figurines lies in her claim that material culture can be both a medium for the enactment or practice of gender and a locus for its negotiation (ibid:49; cf. Sørensen 2000; Dobres 1995). In her view, it is through the repetitive performance of gender negotiation via materiality and other strategies that identities can become solidified and that people come to recognize difference between themselves and others. She rejects the notion that gender is simply observed through the body or understood in relation to objects associated with bodies, but that gender is instead embodied through practice. She builds on this idea to claim that people continually engage in performances of difference, including subversion of conventions and establishment of new sets of differences (cf. Bailey

1996); I would point out that it is also possible that people can engage in performances *minimizing* difference, but I digress. Her point in making these claims is to show that the archaeological record can reveal how people experienced and expressed gender, by looking to the remains that indicate how objects played a role in the continually shifting milieu of practices and negotiations, which were materially (as well as immaterially) constituted (Sørensen 2007; cf. Joyce 1998).

While these kinds of theoretical discussions are hugely important not just in figurine studies, but all of archaeology, it is sometimes more difficult to implement them in practice. Unfortunately, it is common to find analyses of gender in the figurine literature that are not explicit about their methodologies. Then again, many of these methodologies are not formalized, so it is sometimes easier to just discuss the data than to fully explicate the specifics of the analytical techniques used. Nevertheless, scholars are often primarily concerned with several goals: (1) to identify and characterize all of the features and attributes the figurines under analysis bear, (2) to determine what the gender/sex of a figurine is, (3) to compare the attributes of figurines across the gendered categories, (4) to compare the proportions of differently gendered images across different media, in different contexts, and over time, and (5) to tie these analyses to larger social patterns that might help interpret the significance of these images (e.g. Mina 2007). Or more simply put, the archaeological study of gender has largely been about “locat[ing] the insertion of gender in various social practices” (Sørensen 2007:50).

In this thesis, a gender analysis will be carried out on the Tureng Tepe figurines by discussing the following: (1) how the different genders are marked, (2)

their spatial distribution, and (3) their distribution across color and material. Unfortunately, more nuanced gender analysis of the Tureng Tepe figurines is impossible, due to the fact that figurines are the only form of human images we have from the site and so little is known of its socio-economic organization. Gender analysis does lend itself to another form of analysis, however, that I will briefly address in the analytic chapter. Gender analysis brings up important questions about how images of the human form relate to social identities, which can be addressed using a body of theory that I term the 'Politics of Representation' for ease of reference. The Politics of Representation is especially useful in analyzing anthropomorphic figurines because it focuses on the relational and process-oriented aspects of figurines, which allows us to learn about the ways in which figurines participated in prehistoric social life.

The Politics of Representation & Semeiotic Ideologies

Gender theorists have shown us that gender is an identity that is undergoing constant negotiation through peoples's lived experiences, both material and immaterial. But how does this negotiation actually play out? One productive way to investigate the negotiation of identities such as gender and the related depiction of bodies in their specific contexts is through engagement with a number of ideas ultimately deriving from practice theory and semeiotic philosophy. The work of these scholars has led to us better understanding how the gender and identity theory discussed above becomes materialized.

A productive starting point in this discussion is to engage with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and the field. Bourdieu conceives of the habitus as a set of

structuring dispositions that constitutes a rubric of strategies for action in the world, actions that he called practice. Fields, on the other hand, are objective domains in which practice is enacted, which are penetrated by networks of power relations. Following Chapman, we see that the spatial and power relations of a given field differentially constrain and enable practices (such as making/using representations) taking place in the field, via the interaction between objectification and embodiment (Chapman 1998:106). This dialectical relationship produces the ever changing fields in which habitus can become manifest through practice, by embedding the social in the body (embodiment) and embedding the social in objects and things (objectification).

On this basis, Chapman argues that the physical body manifests social and cultural meanings throughout the human life cycle as part of the construction of society. He understands this process as being contested within fields through practice, which politicizes the body – a process that leads to all social terms, categories and classifications becoming the products of a dialogue between social actors (be they human or material) in an ongoing drama of social and political life (Chapman 1998:108; cf. Talalay 1993:50). With regard to figurines, considering the *habitus*, the field, objectification, and embodiment can show how the meanings of anthropomorphic representations are culturally specific, multiple, and perhaps most importantly, subject to manipulation and change (Talalay 1993:38).

We do need, however, to make sure that we do not slip into making simplistic generic claims. Following Richard Lesure, we should strive to promote feedback between empirical data and theories if we are to ground the subjectivities we

identify theoretically in concrete empirical details (Lesure 2005). That in mind, I would argue that the concepts of embodiment and objectification are very much necessary to consider if we are to make sense of any kind of representational meanings anthropomorphic figurines may have had. We also need to evaluate the utility of these concepts on a case-by-case basis, as assuming gendered or other meanings for figurines *a priori* could perhaps be a grievous mistake for a given assemblage (cf. Mina 2007). Regardless, if we find reason to accept the thesis that the body is indeed the social, political and cultural object *par excellence*, it should then follow that the ability to recognize, use and depict the human body as an ordered set of symbols should certainly impinge upon how people encode and articulate these values through objects of material culture such as figurines (Talalay 1993:86; Joyce 1998:161).

What is it then about a figurine that has an effect on people and society? It has been argued “in representing the human form in a durable material good, people created an enduring representation of the personal and social body, focusing attention on the key elements of what it meant to be a person and exist in a human body in a particular society” (Kuijt and Chesson 2005). Such representations are a locus for the confluence of the individual, the social, the personal and the political body. The discourses that bundle together at this intersectional node of negotiated identity are what I term the Politics of Representation (following Bailey 2005). It deserves mention that in using this concept, I am not “employing the notion of representation [to] infer that figurines stand in for something real and are a reflection of that reality, of someone or something”. For certain, following the

important observation by Lynn Meskell, we must be aware that “objects [such as figurines] are not necessarily referents for something else tangible, but could be experienced as real and tangible things in themselves” (Meskell 2007:143). By introducing the concept of “semeiotic ideologies” to the Politics of Representation, which will be elaborated upon below, I avoid treating figurines as simple referents, but as a process whose thingness is the very stuff of its social significance.

But we are still operating at an extremely general and abstracted level. How does the body become an ordered set of symbols that people can materialize? Or in other words, how can we use the corpus from Tureng Tepe to analyze the Politics of Representation in prehistoric society?

One way is to treat figurines as materialized ‘philosophies of being human’ (also following Bailey), and to take the various figural narratives (in Bailey’s terms, the philosophies of being human) to be the discourses constituting the Politics of Representation. If we conceptualize the problem in this manner, however, we will need a way to define and document these different ‘philosophies of being human’. One way to do this could be through engaging with “semeiotic ideologies”, a concept developed by Webb Keane. A semeiotic ideology, according to Keane, is “composed of peoples’s background assumptions about what signs are, and how they function in the world” (Keane 2005:191).

Keane’s basic idea is that in order to analyze the ways in which objects play a role in social relations using semiotic theories, one must be concerned with two tasks. The first task is to define the semiotic ideologies existing in a given field of material discourse. The second is to interrogate the deployment of these semiotic

ideologies in the discursive field(s) under consideration. This requires a consideration of both macro- and micro-contexts, and which ideologies come in to play where, as well as where not. This is important because these same processes are the ones by which subjects and agents are constituted within the material world.

As stated above, semeiotic ideologies are comprised of people's background assumptions about what signs are and how they function in the world. For clarification, a sign is a unit of meaning, or "something that stands for something to someone in some capacity" (Danesi & Perron 1999). In Saussurian semeiology, the sign is composed of the signifier and the signified, an arbitrary relationship that only has meaning only in relation to all other signs in use in a synchronic system of meaning, such as language. Saussure's conception of the sign did not allow for there to be a relationship between the innate attributes of a thing and the sign used to represent it. In other words, it can't account for material culture.

In his semeiotic philosophy, Charles Sanders Peirce side steps the problem outlined by Meskell, as he conceptualized signs as "belonging to the material world, with all its consequences" (Keane 2005:186). He argued that signs participated in an unending process of signification, and that there is a complex range of potential relationships between signs, interpretations and objects (see citations in Keane 2005). The triangular relationship between these three different entities has been permutated out into hundreds of different types of relations by various semeioticians since Peirce's death (cf. Preucel 2006); two of these relations are especially important here: iconicity and indexicality. An icon is a sign that has meaning through its resemblance to something else, e.g. figurines are iconic of the

human body. Indexical signs register an existential relation between a sign and its referent, e.g. figurines are indexical of human activity (Joyce 2007). Joyce points out that the relationship between style and identity is not arbitrary, but rather a material style such as a figurine type can be understood as a body of indexical signs incorporating iconic signs in that “every [figurine] recognizable as in a specific style indexes the set of repeated traits that make up that style. The legibility of different [figurines] as of the same style is a product of their mutual resemblance, or iconicity. The identification of ‘resemblance’ that underpins iconicity clearly requires an act of interpretation” (Joyce 2007:102).

Keane extrapolates this argument to its logical conclusions, stating that we must take into account “how the materiality of signification is not just a factor for the sign *interpreter* but [also] gives rise to, and transforms modalities of action and subjectivity *regardless* of whether they are interpreted” (Keane 2005:186, emphasis added). This means that in an analysis of signs, we must account for how material things that are different in terms of their qualities come to be considered as instances of the same thing (or not the same thing, depending on the circumstances). In Joyce’s terminology, “these states of the interpretant provide a way to specify how we understand signification affecting the individual person and other persons connected in social networks in space [and] time” (Joyce 2007:103). This is the process by which fleshed bodies become associated with fired bodies in the objectification/embodiment dialectic.

This is important because as Keane argues, “semiotic ideologies are not just simply concerned with the signs themselves, but also what kinds of agents and

objects exist in the world. There is no reason to assume that semiotic ideologies are totalizing systems, in fact, existing semiotic ideologies are always in a state of flux and contestation” (ibid:194). Preucel makes a similar point in arguing that “signs function not simply to represent social reality, but also to create it and effect changes in that reality. Signs have agency by virtue of their ability to generate other signs. The control of this process permits the fixing of meanings, as sign combinations come to be interpreted together as semiotic ideologies. But, this process is inherently unstable and those same sign combinations can be confronted by alternative readings and reinterpreted as new semiotic ideologies” (Preucel 2006:89). Bringing these two perspectives together as regards the topic of this thesis, semeiotic ideologies come into play at every step along the *chaine opératoire* that figurines are enmeshed in throughout their social lives.

To summarize the still somewhat abstract nature of Keane’s and Joyce’s arguments as they relate to figurines and the topic at hand: the Politics of Representation is an emergent phenomenon that derives from the sum of the interactions of different semeiotic ideologies. We must ask, however, what constitutes a *figural* semeiotic ideology? A figural semeiotic ideology can be one of several indexical or iconic processes of signification: it could be an overall style of figurines, it could be a particular way of making or using figurines, a way of depositing of figurines, a style of decoration/attribution, for example. While we can never say for sure what the specific meanings of different styles or attributes are, we can trace the contours of semiotic ideologies using the reconstructable aspects of the figurines themselves. For example, a class of figurines may compose a semeiotic

ideology, insofar as they present an ordered view of what the human body ought to look like and the attributes it should include. It is also possible, however, for a particular stylistic element that crosscuts classes of figurines to constitute a semeiotic ideology being used in an attempt to impose sameness on what was previously variable or vice-versa. It all depends on what patterns emerge from the data.

It is important to note, however, that semeiotic ideologies are unstable, as the signs of which they are composed are caught in a web of endless signification, regardless of whether the interpretant (a person interacting with a figurine in this case) 'reads' the sign in the way the maker of the sign intended. To quote Keane, "this observation is useful because it doesn't require us to assume everyone goes around with a preexisting code or cultural rulebook in their heads" (2005:190). Instead, we must see not only how the Politics of Representation is composed of different competing material narratives (semeiotic ideologies), but also that these narratives cannot be divorced from the operations of power and agency.

Several other scholars have also touched on these ideas. While Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson do not explicitly spell out the concept of the Politics of Representation in their book "Reading the Past" (2003), they do acknowledge the significance of bodily representations as discursive constructs, which gain their own agency through their relations with human actors. They consider the work of Rosemary Joyce especially important, as she draws attention to how materiality can be deployed as a strategy through which various discourses can naturalize and normalize particular views of the body. These material discourses (or in the terms

of the above discussion, semeiotic ideologies) do not just produce the body, they provide a set of representations that make the body knowable and additionally make the order established by these representations seem normal and natural (Hodder & Hutson 2003:112). Or in other words, “figurines [do] not simply represent, they [distill], [emphasize], and [forge] a specific set of choices and preoccupations. As such, they [outline] specific perceptions of the human body and its various features, as particular sites of social attention and production” (Nakamura & Meskell 2009:206). And of course, these discourses cannot be separated from the discursive field in which they exist, lending further weight to the need to contextually examine bodily representations – such as figurines – in order to be able to make sense of their significance in a milieu of potent material symbols which played into the structures and relations of power in prehistoric societies.

Because of this, Hodder and Hutson argue for an ‘archaeology of embodiment’, in which material culture would not be treated as a simple tool wielded by the mind or the self, but rather that it would acknowledge that the self is continuously created and recreated in part via its relations to material culture. Similarly to the discussion of Chapman’s ideas above, they stress that embodiment does not come as a simple result of bodies interacting with objects and persons.

They instead argue that any embodiment is always contextually oriented, insofar as the way in which we engage with the world is both enabled and constrained by our immediate environments. (Hodder & Hutson 2003:124). For these reasons, we can regard the Politics of Representation as articulated through figurines as a set of contextually situated embodied practices that materialize

different semeiotic ideologies. These practices cannot be investigated without a careful consideration of the prehistoric material and social environment in which these bodily and productive performances were enacted, or in other words the field of power relations in which such semeiotic ideologies are constructed through practice.

Nicole Boivin also weighs in on this matter in her book “Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution” (2008). In her perspective, the material world is often used as a medium for the expression or representation of meaning, thoughts, concepts and values or many other so-called ‘immaterial’ phenomena. She points out that in the material world, the relationship between signifier and signified is not always rigidly arbitrary as it often is in language. On this basis, she argues that in many cases it is not that ideas and other ‘immaterial’ phenomena precede material items, but rather, that they come into being through human engagement with the material world. She stresses that this is not to argue for a reversal of the determinative arrow from ideas → things to things → ideas, but rather to encourage a more nuanced perspective in which it is possible to investigate the full range of possible interactions between these phenomena.

One way she demonstrates this assertion is to build on the work of Victor Turner and Fredrik Barth to shift the locus of analyzing the process of meaning production from distanced and abstracted contemplation of it to direct human engagement with the material world. She argues that the material world is not a simple plane *upon which* people attach concepts, but rather, that it is a palette *with*

which people think, instead of just simply a plane used for reproduction of pre-existing thoughts. This suggests that the semeiotic ideologies of being human that can be observed through figurines actually are made at the same time as the figurine itself, rather than being a pre-formed idea executed in clay. Boivin further argues that an important aspect of this relationship between human thought and the world around us is metaphor. Boivin claims that metaphors are not simply linguistic, but bodily and material as well. She argues that a material metaphor is not only simply a device for the expression of meaning, but also a device for the understanding and embodiment of cultural meanings and experiences – and that this is where material metaphors derive their power; they are a direct conduit from experience to meaning and back again (cf. Preucel 2006:142).

Boivin argues that it is clear that our material environments can play a role in developing and structuring our concepts, however, only insofar that our environments can enable or constrict concept formation; it is only through our experience of and in them that they are able to do so. Ergo, neither nature nor culture plays a determinative role in the thought process; rather, metaphorical concepts and thought emerge from our active engagement with both the material and social environment in ways that are culturally constrained. Through an engagement with Boivin's conceptual dialogue we can begin to see how it is exactly that figurines can be material agents in the politics of representation within specific cultural contexts.

As with gender theory, the theory of the Politics of Representation is highly abstract, and therefore difficult to tie to empirical reality. Nevertheless, by giving the

Politics of Representation specificity in practice through semeiotic ideologies we can begin to empirically document different ‘philosophies of being human’ that might be able to speak to questions of gender, identity, and political economy vis-à-vis the operation of power. Empirically documenting semeiotic ideologies is of course going to be somewhat messy, but by identifying bundles of traits or co-present treatments, emphases, abstractions or absences of particular features (in other words the signs of which the figurines are composed), we can begin to analyze these semeiotic ideologies as best as the data will allow.

Summary

This chapter has explored figurine studies with several interrelated goals in mind. It identifies the interpretations generated by the scholars who have worked with the data in this thesis in the past. It situates the work of these scholars in its broader scholastic context. This exercise has shown that past conceptions of figurines, and research questions that focus on the “what” of figurines rather than the “how” of figurines (i.e. figurines as inert images as opposed to figurines as active material processes of making, using, circulating, breaking, and disposing) need to be revisited and critically examined. The problems that arose in investigating the origins of the “Goddess Thesis” used by Wulsin and Ackerman in analyzing the figurines from Tureng Tepe showed that new ways of looking at these figurines are necessary to answer basic questions about their significance.

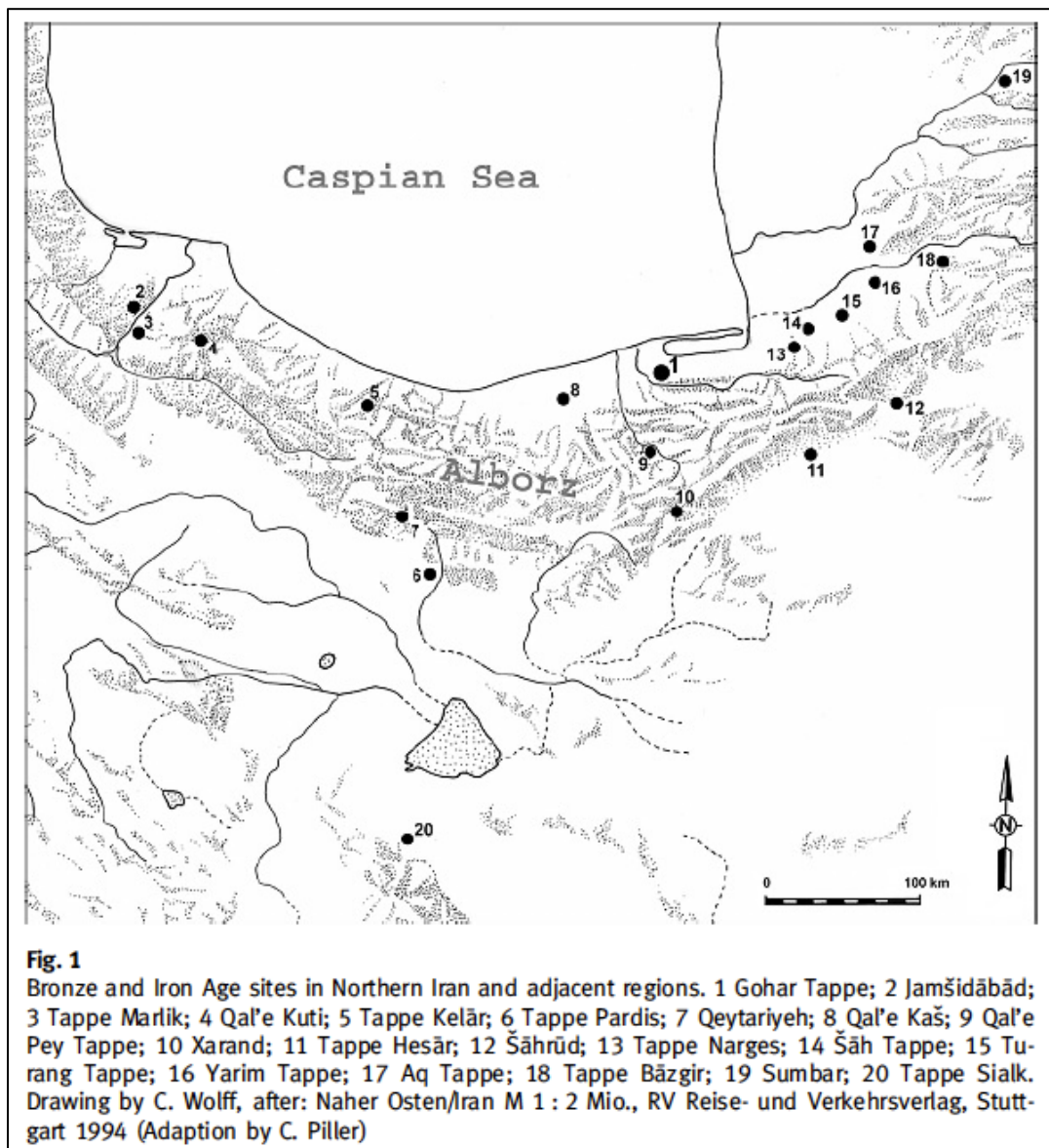
This has led to a consideration and critical discussion of a number of different elements of figurines. These kinds of analyses have been the norm in figurine studies for several decades now, but they include: contextual analyses,

breakage analyses, gender analyses, and an combination of iconographic, symbolic, and semeiotic analyses that gets at what I term the Politics of Representation. Between these four kinds of analysis and, data permitting, we can begin to build a more comprehensive understanding of the figurines from Tureng Tepe. The following two chapters will concern the previous work accomplished at Tureng Tepe (Chapter 3), and will present a typology of the figurines (Chapter 4) that will be the basis for the analyses discussed above (Chapter 5).

Chapter 3: Previous Work at Tureng Tepe

Tureng Tepe is located 12 kilometers northeast of the city of Gorgān and 42 kilometers due east of the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea at 36°56'17.97" North Latitude and 54°35'11.02" East Longitude. It is the largest and most important site on the Gorgān Plain, a fertile strip of land bounded on the south by the Alborz Mountains and the Turkoman steppe to the north.

Figure 3.1: Map of Northern Iran (Mahfroozi & Piller 2009:177)



The site consists of a cluster of mounds surrounded by modern irrigation reservoirs and streams. Most of the mounds rise no more than 12 meters above the surrounding plain, but the main mound is an impressive massif stretching more than 30 meters into the sky. Previous excavators have found evidence of an occupational sequence that extends from the Chalcolithic to Sassanian times. There is also a modern village located nearby; there is, however, little indication that the site was occupied during the Middle Ages or Early Modern Era.

The site was first reported in 1843, when the Russian diplomat and explorer Baron Clement Augustus de Bode presented his report on the so-called “Astarabad Treasure” to Roach Smith in London, who published the report in *Archaeologia* (de Bode 1844). This fantastic cache of stone, gold, silver and ceramic objects was given to the Qajar King, Mohammad Shah, by the headman of Astarabad (modern Gorgān), and it was in Tehran where de Bode first recorded them. The importance of this site was not recognized until the great Orientalist and ancient historian Michael Rostovtzeff noted parallels between the Astarabad Treasure and Mesopotamian iconography of the 3rd millennium BCE (Rostovtzeff 1920). While we now recognize the Astarabad Treasure to be part of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) that spread onto the Iranian Plateau ca. 2000 BCE (Hiebert & Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992), Rostovtzeff’s prescient analysis of this important material opened the door for the first archaeological expeditions to this region.

Besides a preliminary survey of the archaeological mounds around Gorgān by Jacques de Morgan in the late 19th century (de Morgan 1896), the first scholars to visit the site of Tureng Tepe were Frederick R. and Susanne C. Wulsin, two diplomat-

explorers under the employ of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The Wulsins directed two field seasons at the site in June and October of 1931. They dug at the Main Mound, the North Mound, and the West Mound. Along with their German surveyor, Herr Seewald, they also produced a topographic map of the site and the surrounding area.

The Wulsins and their crew planned to carry out many more seasons of excavation at Tureng Tepe, but unfortunately never returned to the site after October of 1931. Their patrons, the William Rockhill Nelson Trust of the Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City, pulled their funding of the project for a variety of reasons. Chief among these were: a cash-flow problem at the museum due to the Great Depression; that the trustees of the Atkins Museum were interested only in art rather than science; and due to Wulsin overspending on the first account they credited him².

Dr. Jean Deshayes, a French archaeologist working originally at the University of Lyons and later at the Sorbonne, led the next series of excavations at Tureng Tepe. He excavated at the site for 11 seasons from 1960 to 1975. In contrast to the Wulsins, who were amateur archaeologists, Dr. Deshayes was a consummate professional. His excavations were systematic, extensive, and detail-oriented almost to a fault. He published many short reports on his field-work (e.g., Deshayes 1963, 1965, 1966, 1967b, 1968, 1970, 1973, 1974), and a few preliminary interpretive

² The full account of this story can be accessed in the University of Pennsylvania Archives. Fredrick Wulsin's correspondences with the directors of the Kansas City Museum and his colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania Museum offer a fascinating glimpse into scholastic and curatorial politics during the Great Depression.

articles (e.g. Deshayes 1967a, 1968, 1969a, 1969b); unfortunately, he died before he was able to compile a synthesis of his work on the prehistoric materials at Tureng Tepe³. Based on the work of his students, however, it is clear that there exists a substantial volume of field notes, maps, catalogs, and artifacts curated at the University of Lyons, at the Sorbonne in Paris, and also in Nanterre. Study of these materials is imperative for building a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the prehistoric societies that inhabited this site and region (e.g., Martinez 1990).

The Wulsin Expedition

In 1930, Frederick and Susanne were stationed in Tehran on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Their mandate was to promote the interests of the Museum by helping to secure a revision of the Iranian Antiquities Law. Following the accomplishment of this goal⁴, with the help of Ernst Herzfeld, Frederick conducted a survey of the Gorgān Plain and western Semnān in the winter of 1930-1931. During this survey, they identified a number of medieval, classical, and prehistoric sites. Based on this data, Wulsin recommended that the Museum send expeditions to excavate at Tepe Hissār and the Citadel at Dāmghān. Based on letters curated in the Museum archives, Wulsin intended to dig at Hissār, but the Museum sent Erich Schmidt to oversee that expedition and tasked Wulsin

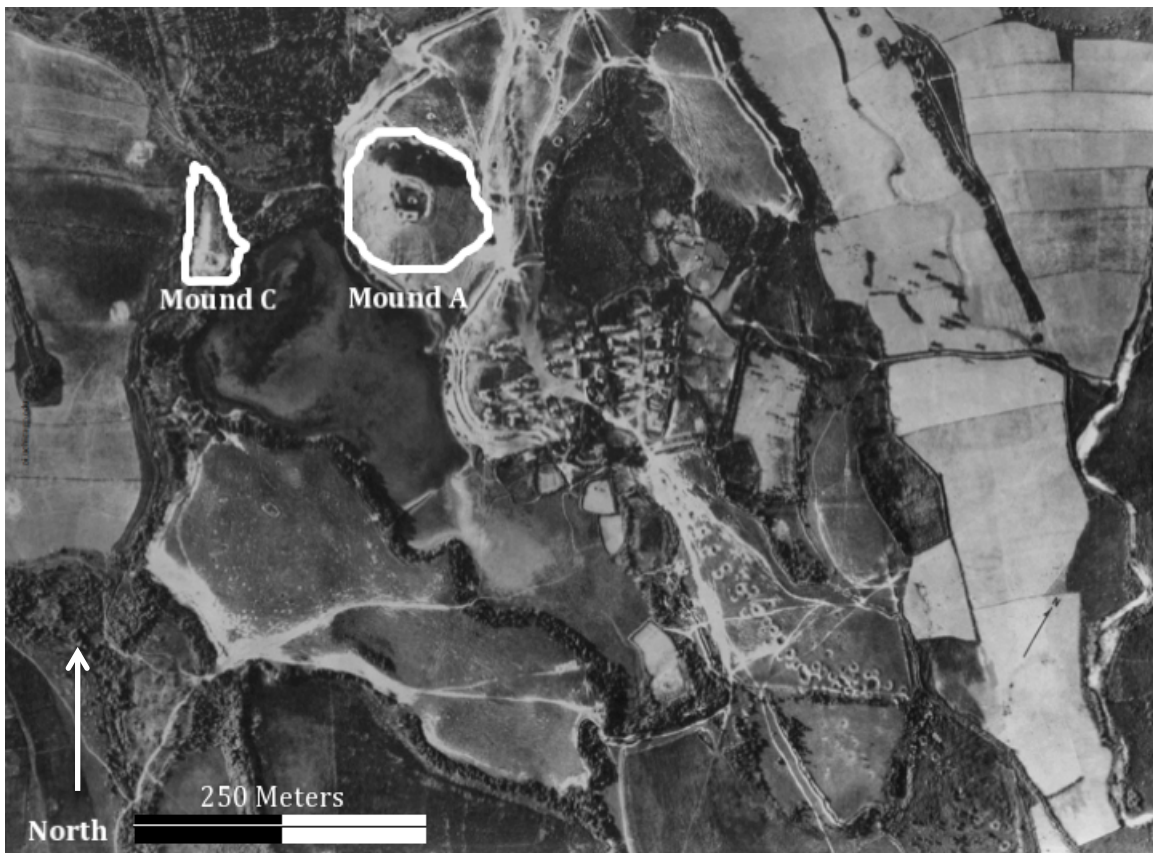
³ After he died, however, several of his students did produce a volume on the Partho-Sassanian period at Tureng Tepe, which is to this day the archaeological gold standard for the period in the region (cf. Boucharlat & LeComte 1987).

⁴ The full story of the passage of the Iranian Antiquities of 1930 remains to be told. Each of the major players, i.e. Alexander Upham Pope, Andre Godard, Erich Schmidt, Fredrick Wulsin, and Ernst Herzfeld, among others, all claim ultimate responsibility for its passage (W. Parkinson & C. Thornton, pers. comm. 2012).

with continuing his diplomatic work. Despite his mandate, Wulsin obtained a permit to excavate at Tokhmākh Tappeh, a mound north of the city of Gorgān. The permit was quickly switched to Tureng Tepe after Wulsin determined that Tokhmākh Tappeh was a natural hill.

The Wulsins focused their excavations on what they referred to as the West Mound, or Mound C, a small mound separated from the Main Mound, Mound A, by an irrigation reservoir. They also excavated part of the slope of the Main Mound, and sunk a number of test pits into the Main Mound, and the North Mound, Mound B.

Figure 3.2: Overhead Aerial Map of Tureng Tepe (Schmidt 1940)



Main Mound (Mound A)

The Main Mound is a 35-meter tall massif that dominates the whole site, and indeed much of the surrounding landscape. It has been heavily eroded on the west side over the centuries, partially exposing a wall of massive mud bricks. The Wulsin's excavations at the Main Mound were mostly focused on clearing away loose dirt to fully expose a section of this retaining wall. They also found evidence of at least one stairway, several arrangements of boulders and a large platform 9 meters below the modern surface of the mound.

Figure 3.3: Aerial Photo of Tureng Tepe, view to the South (Schmidt 1940)



West Mound (Mound C)

The Wulsin's excavations focused primarily on Mound C. It is a low, oval shaped mound, rising approximately 8 meters above the surface of the plain. The

excavations began with a small test pit on the southern slope of the mound, but the presence of burials and many artifacts convinced the Wulsins of the need to expand the trench and focus their efforts on this location. During the June excavations, this unit was referred to as Trench 2. In October, the trench was expanded into two 10x10m squares referred to as Square 2 and Square 3. Square 2 corresponded mostly to the extent of Trench 2, and Square 3 was the next 10x10m block to the west of Square 2. The sondage in Trench 2 referred to as Test 6 fell in the southeast corner of Square 3.

Figure 3.4: Plan Map of Excavations (Drawn by F.R.W. 1931, UPM Archives)



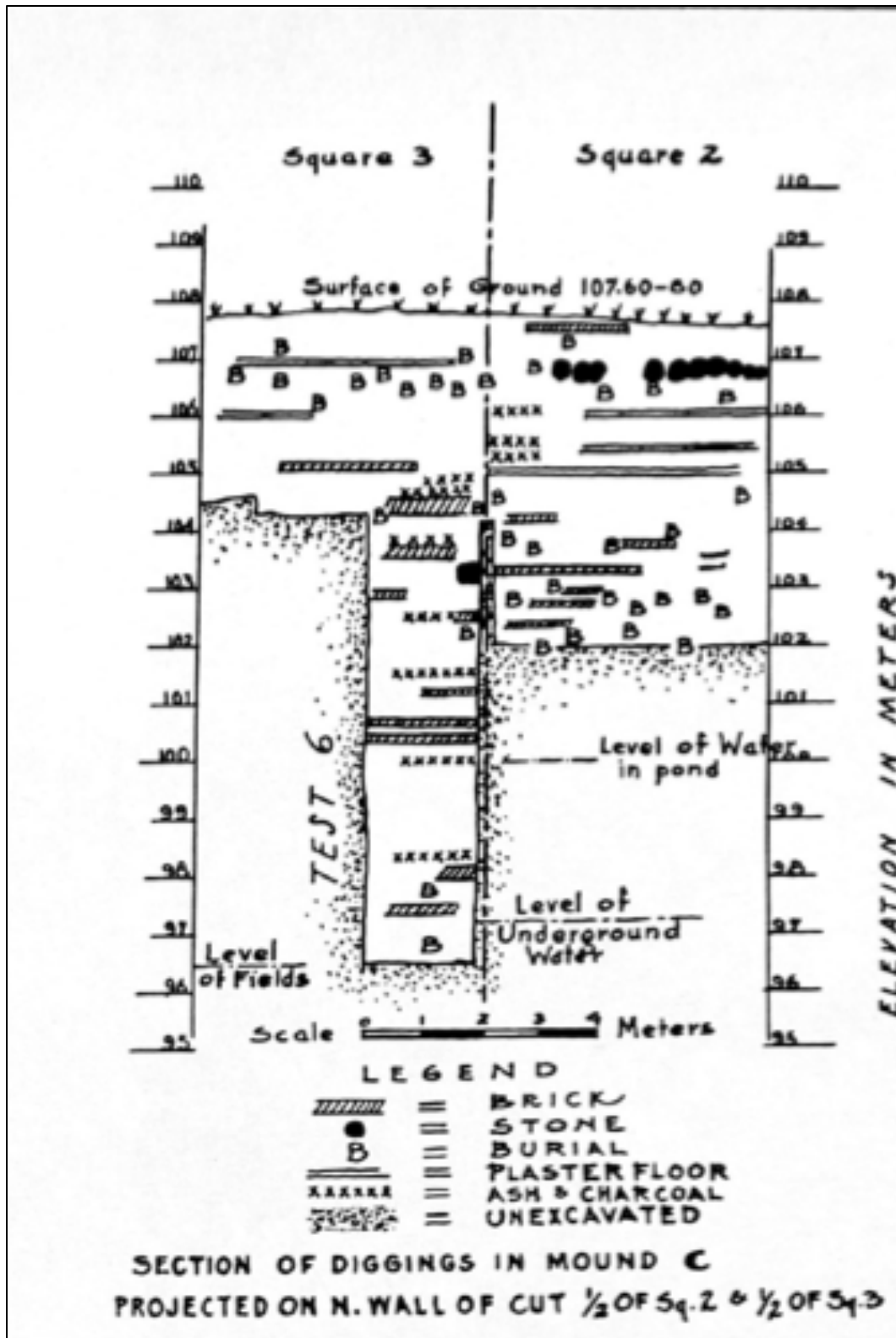
Trench 2 trench exposed the remains of household ruins and refuse, but also several significant burial deposits. Near the surface there was a collection of what Wulsin considered to be Iron Age burials⁵, which were associated with several large blocks of stones in the middle of the trench. Several meters below the bottom of the first burial level, the Wulsins encountered a series of superimposed floors. Several of these floors bore the remains of hearths, and were generally underlain by a great deal of domestic refuse, including broken flint and bone tools, large amounts of ceramic sherds, and almost all of the figurines⁶ discussed in this thesis.

Below these levels was another series of burials. These burials are probably contemporaneous with the floor levels above, as they were likely dug into earlier deposits, but the Wulsin's excavation methods were insufficiently systematic to determine this with any precision. Below these levels are the remains of more domestic occupations. Unfortunately, the Wulsins did not record any domestic architecture other than the floor levels indicated on the profile maps they drew. What is known of the various features that they did record has had to be reconstructed from their field notes, maps, and the work of Ayse (Daher) Gürsan-Salzmänn (Daher 1969).

⁵ He based this claim on grave goods found in these burials, whether his assessment is correct is the subject of a different study. The information he recorded on these burials can be found in the Tureng Tepe Burial Card-Catalog in the UPM Archives.

⁶ The Wulsins referred to the figurines as Red or Grey "Ladies and Gentlemen". I have retained their usage for ease of reference and continuity's sake.

Figure 3.5: Profile of West Mound Excavations (Wulsin 1932: Pl. III)



Test Pits

The Wulsins sunk a number of test pits in various areas on the site. Several were put into Mound B (north of Mound A) in order to determine the depth and thickness of the cultural deposits there. Several of these units yielded cultural materials and burials (flesh out info here). They also explored a number of qanāt holes on various parts of the site, in which they found prehistoric materials.

Summary of Wulsin excavations

The Wulsin excavations produced a tantalizing look into a complex Bronze Age society. Unfortunately, Frederick and Susanne were not professional archaeologists; consequently, their results produced more questions than answers. This is not to say that their work is insignificant in any way. Indeed, as the very first American archaeological expedition to Iran, it is a shame that their work has been neglected over the years. In many ways, this was their primary contribution to the field, but we cannot take away from the fact that they collected valuable data that is still useful today.

This data is the result of excavations that exposed an intact sequence of Bronze Age and Chalcolithic occupation layers, interspersed with burial events. Whether these burials were interred intramurally while the mound was occupied, or deposited while a different part of the site was inhabited is still unknown. Regardless, they left a rich, if sometimes confusing, set of field-notes and artifacts, as well as a card catalog of finds and a number of valuable maps. Their pioneering work paved the way for all subsequent research in the Gorgān plain.

Daher Thesis

In the late 1960s, Ayşe Daher (now Gürsan-Salzmänn) wrote a master's thesis on the grave groups at Tureng Tepe (Daher 1969). She was supervised by Robert H. Dyson Jr., and also corresponded with Jean Deshayes in order to reconstruct the burial information of the West Mound. She created an indexed catalog of all the burials excavated by the Wulsins in 1931, using the Wulsins's catalog cards and field notes to group them into two categories: one that Wulsin called Iron Age⁷ (between 106.12 and 107.60m) and one Bronze Age (between 102 and 105.20m). She also produced a ceramic typology based on the Wulsins's finds and used it to compare the ceramic sequence of Tureng Tepe with those of Shāh Tepe, Yārim Tepe, and Tepe Hissār. Among other contributions, she produced the plan maps that are used in this thesis to plot the location of the figurines relative to the features and floor levels in the Wulsins's excavations.

Gürsan-Salzmänn's work paved the way for reconstructing a clearer picture of Wulsin's methodology. Her work revealed that Wulsin dug the mound in arbitrary 70cm intervals, and confirmed the suspicion that he did not systematically record information about the sediments found therein. Despite the limitations of the available data, Gürsan-Salzmänn painstakingly reviewed the ceramics and periodized them by absolute depth as follows:

⁷ This was based on the discovery of Iron nails, bronze and copper objects. Some of the graves contained no burial furniture, and these have been identified as belonging to the Islamic Era (Deshayes pers. comm., as in Daher 1969:53).

Figure 3.6: Ceramic Periodization by Elevation⁸

Period IIIB = 105.25-104.50 meters
Period IIIA = 104.50-104.00 meters
Period IIC = 104.00-103.50 meters
Period IIB = 103.50-103.00 meters
Period IIA = 102.00-103.00 meters

She divided the ceramics into three broad categories: (1) Grey Ware, (2) Brown Ware, and (3) Red Ware. The Grey Ware belonged to two subcategories, Fine Pattern-Burnished Grey Wares of various forms, and Coarse Grey Ware. The Brown Ware was only made of up six examples, and was not further subdivided. The Red Wares were divided into Plain Fine Red Wares, Black on Red Painted Wares and Coarse Red Wares (Daher 1969:72-76). In the most reductionist of terms, early in Period II, there was a mix of Coarse Red, Painted Red, and Coarse Grey Wares; later in Period II the Fine Grey Wares began to appear, and became dominant in Period III.

The following plan maps are adopted from those drawn by Ayse Daher Gürsan-Salzmänn. Please note that the small circles with lines extending out of them indicate burials. The circle is the skull, and the line represents the direction the body was oriented. A closed circle indicates a contracted body position, whereas an open circle indicates an extended body position; a half-filled circle indicates an undeterminable body position. Only the levels with figurine finds are presented here:

⁸ It is important to note that the elevations are based off of an arbitrary datum that was set at the high-water mark on the irrigation pond in June of 1931 at 100 meters.

Figure 3.7: Level 1 Plan Map (107.96-106.10m)

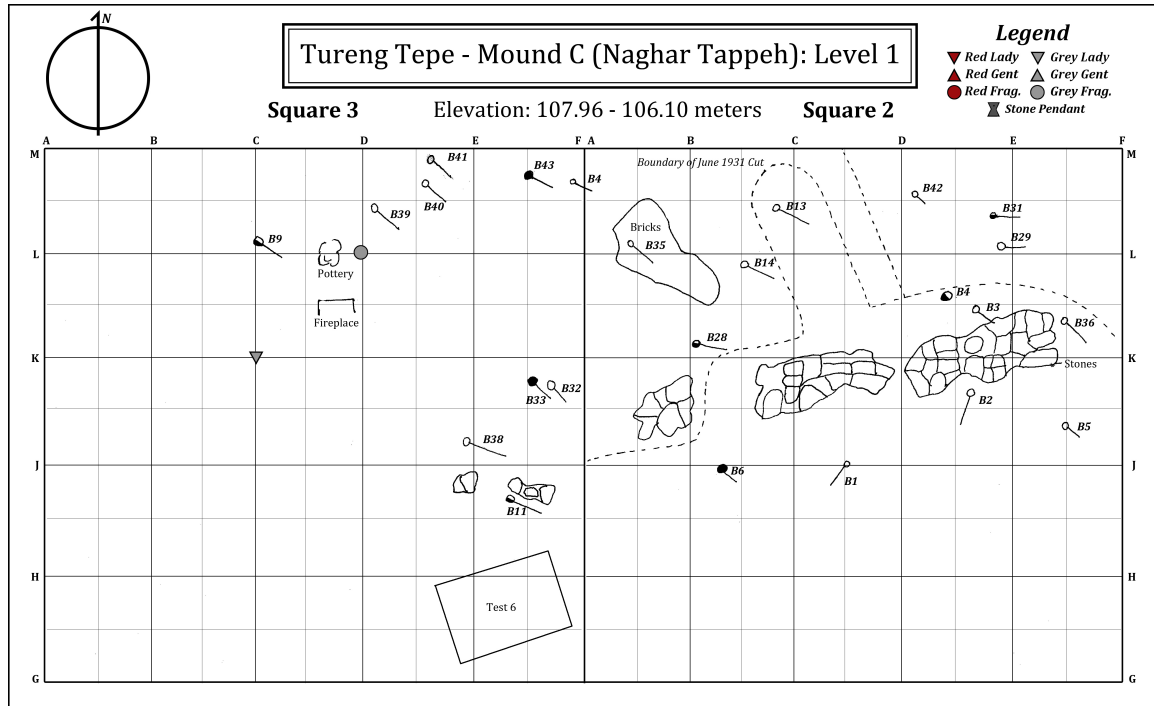


Figure 3.8: Level 2 Plan Map (106.10-105.20m)

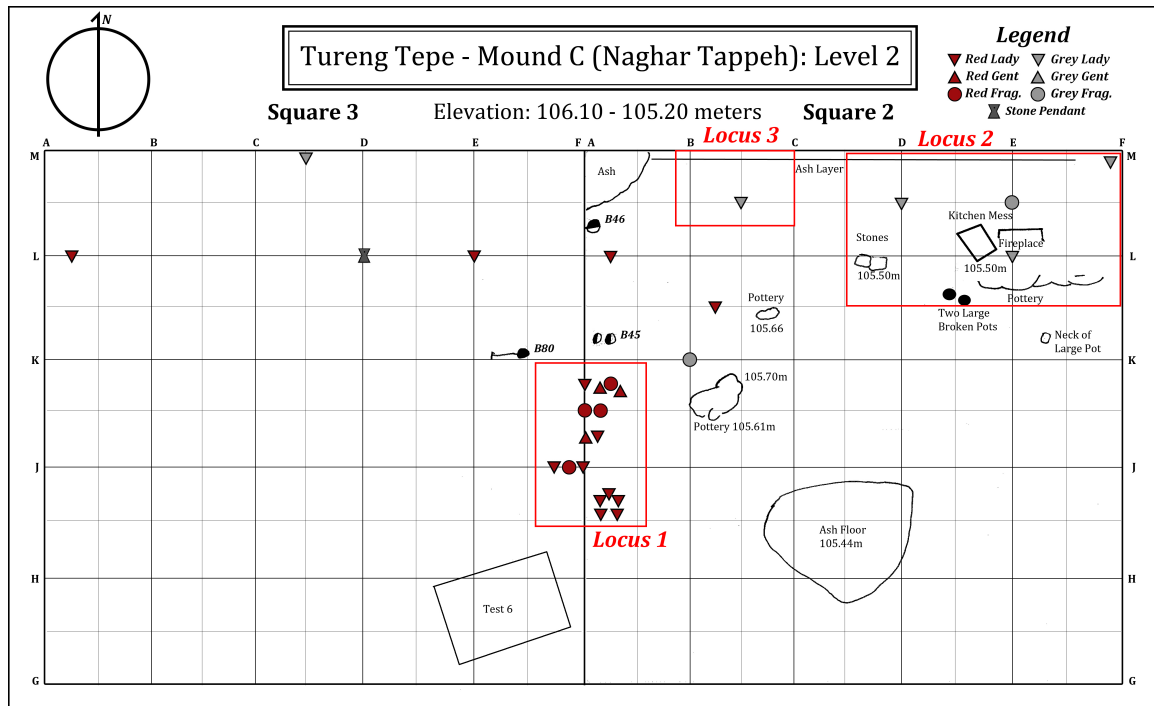


Figure 3.9: Level 3 Plan Map (105.20-104.70m)

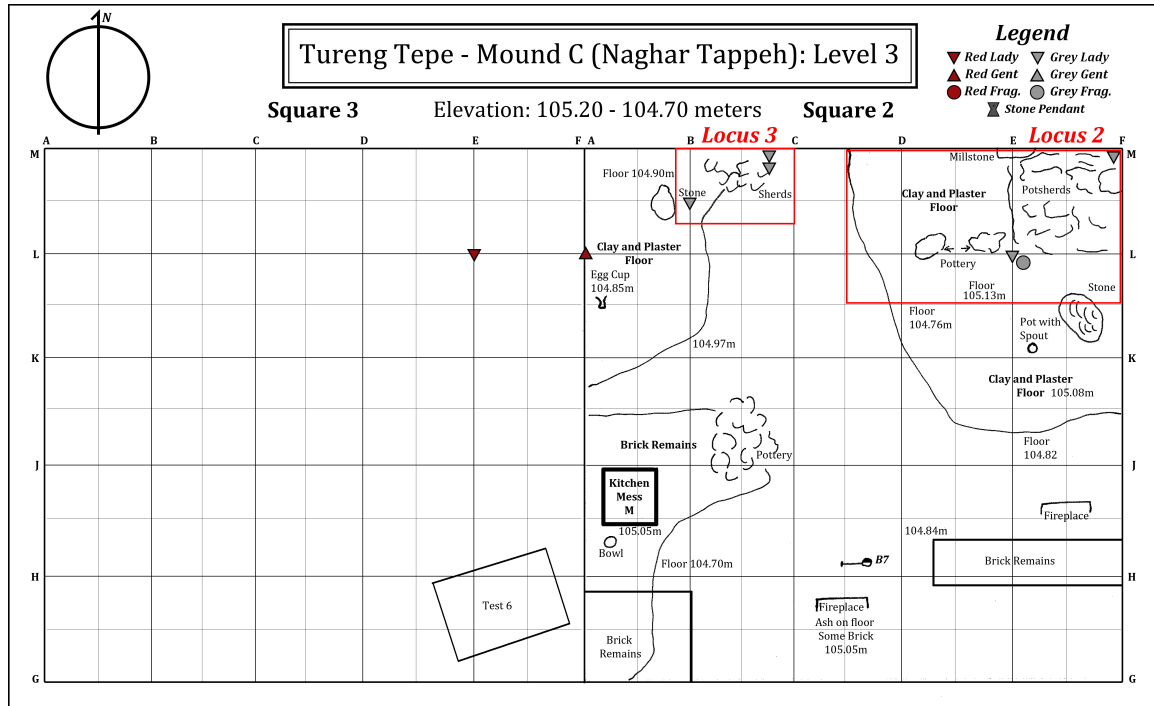
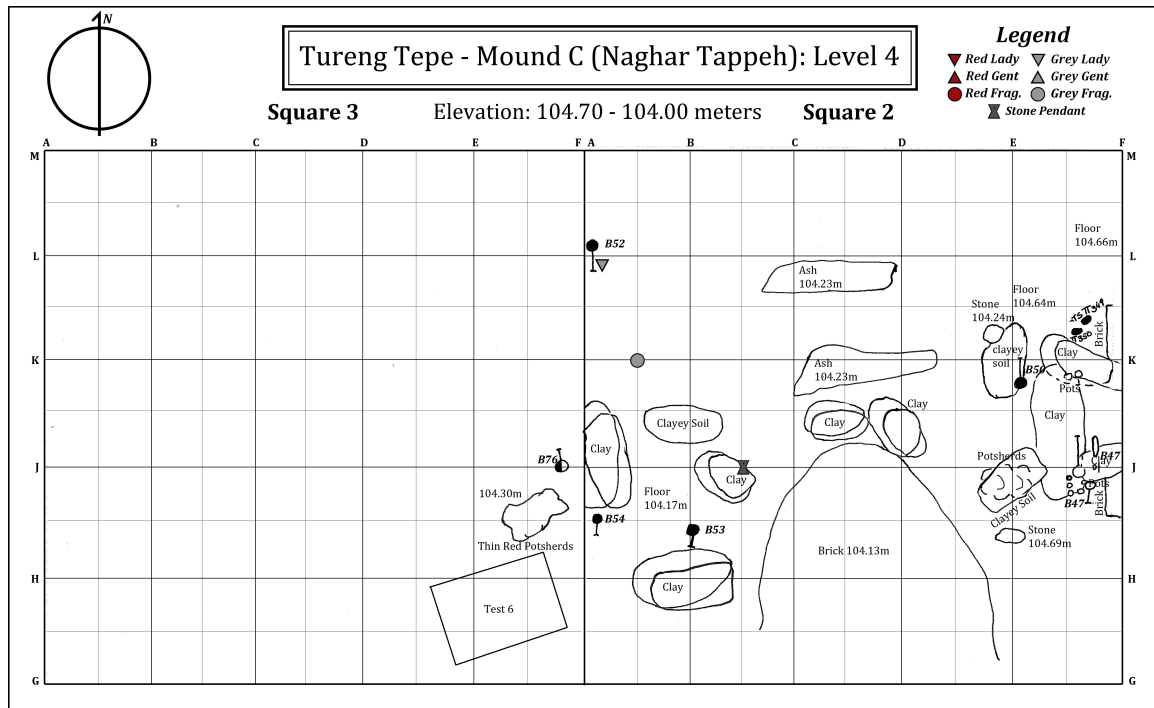


Figure 3.10: Level 4 Plan Map (elevation)



The Deshayes Excavations

As mentioned above, Jean Deshayes conducted 11 seasons of fieldwork at Tureng Tepe between 1960 and 1975. He published preliminary field reports for most of the 11 seasons and some articles on the culture history and ceramic sequence of the site. He only excavated at the West Mound (Mound C) for three seasons (1960, 1961, and 1962), but his work provides necessary stratigraphic and horizontal control that the Wulsin's excavations never managed to achieve (Deshayes 1963, 1965).

During the first two seasons, January-February 1960, and September-October 1961, Deshayes and his crew focused solely on Mound C, which they reported to be named Naghar Tepe. In these two seasons they excavated two blocks, A and B. The former was a 10x10m square dug in the northern part of the mound, and the latter a smaller block (approximately 4.5x4.5m) in the southeastern part of the mound. Similarly to the Wulsins, they found a lens of recent burials within one meter of the surface. Deshayes assigned these burials to the Iron Age based on the ceramics and grave goods found interred with the bodies (Deshayes 1963).

Below the burials, they found a sequence of superimposed floor levels that contained grey and brown pottery. They also found a number of pits full of animal bones and broken sherds. Deshayes also reports finding domestic architecture in all of the levels below the Iron Age burials, primarily walls of pisé and plano-convex bricks (ibid:92-93). Deshayes documents the find of a figurine from floor 8 in Block B, with large ears pierced by multiple holes. He claims that it is similar to the ones found by Wulsin, and in this he is correct, but closer examination shows that it is

also of a rather different construction (Figure 3.11). The first and second seasons of Deshayes's work at Tureng Tepe showed that the Wulsins were on target with much of their work, but that their data have some gaping holes in it, primarily to do with architecture and the stratigraphic relationships between different features such as floors, pits, and walls.

Figure 3.11: Red Figurine from Deshayes 1963

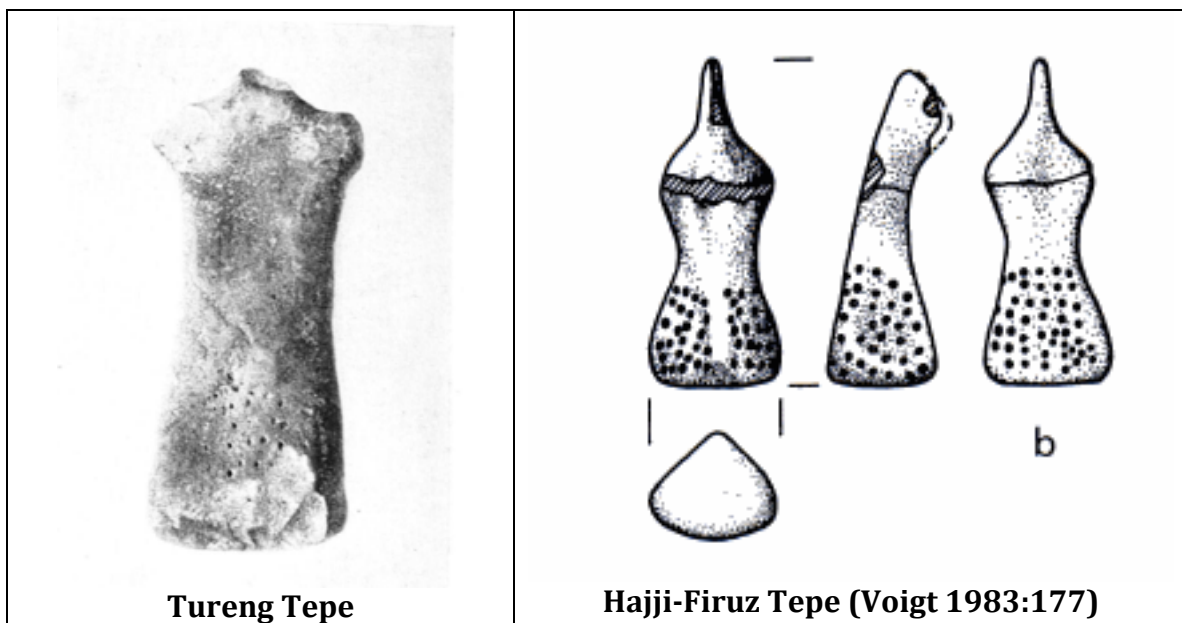


Deshayes's third season at Tureng Tepe was in September-October of 1962. He opened three new excavation blocks during this season, C, D, and E, all presumably located on the West Mound. The team expanded and deepened Blocks A and B, and presumably reached Chalcolithic levels, as Deshayes reports plentiful Black on Red Wares in the lower levels.

Block C was a test sondage of 4.5x4.5m used as a control for stratigraphic purposes, though Deshayes neglects to mention the location of the sondage on the mound. Block D was a 5x5m trench dug into the south of Mound C in order to see if undisturbed Iron Age layers could be located. While the ceramics from Block D were

not terribly informative, the team did recover numerous architectural remains, and a number of interesting artifacts such as blade weapons, and a figurine analogous to the Wulsins's Grey Ladies (Deshayes 1965:90). Block E was a 5x5m sondage dug into the southwest face of Mound C. In it they found traces of architecture; a trash dump, however, took up most of the block. They found a large pit, and sheet middens full of soft earth, ash, potsherds, and burned material. From Block E they also recovered a small figurine reminiscent of the pieces from Hajji-Firuz Tepe (Deshayes 1965: Pl. XXX, 36, see Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12: Figurine fragment from Deshayes 1965



Deshayes's first three seasons at Tureng Tepe helped to clarify and define the sequence that the Wulsins had identified in their work. Based on these two preliminary reports (Deshayes 1963, 1965), it is clear that Deshayes had identified three successive periods on the West Mound, the Iron Age, the Bronze Age, and the Chalcolithic. The figurines that he found all came from similar contexts to those the

Wulsins found. Deshayes reported a piece from Block D that resembles, but also differs in many respects from the Red Ladies and Gentlemen (Figure 3.11). His team also found a Grey Lady in Block D (Figure 3.13), and a stylistically much older figurine fragment in Block E (Figure 3.12). He also reports finding a figurine fragment similar to the Red Ladies in his 1969 article in *Archaeology*, but only insofar as to say that many fragments have been found, and it is possible to typologize them.

Figure 3.13: Deshayes's Grey Lady (Deshayes 1965)



After four seasons of work, Deshayes was able to divide the sequence of the West Mound into four periods. Based on the 18 strata he excavated, he discerned the existence of three Bronze Age and one Iron Age periods. Deshayes showed that by the Bronze II period, larger and more complex houses, with walls of mud-brick,

hearths, and associated pit features were in use (Daher 1969:81, Deshayes 1965). Deshayes later refined this distinction based upon his excavations at the Main Mound, but how his original periodization lines up with the chronology published later is unknown; suffice it to say, it is clear that the West Mound contains a long and complicated occupational sequence that is still only partially understood.

Deshayes continued to work at Tureng Tepe for eight more seasons after his excavations at the West Mound. Over the course of the years he refined the ceramic typology and the periodization of the site. While there are still many questions about and problem areas within the sequence, it is because of Deshayes's work that we are able to identify what periods the Wulsin finds come from, and how the materials from the sequence at Tureng Tepe relate to other sites in the region.

Figure 3.14: Deshayes's Chronology of Tureng Tepe (Deshayes 1969)

VIII: Safavid/Qajar
VII: Abbasid
VI: Late Sassanian
V: Parthian
IV: Iron Age
IIIC2: Post-Hissār IIIC
IIIA-IIIC1: Hissār III Burnished Grey Wares
IIB: Hissār II Grey Wares
IIA: Hissār II Grey Wares & Shah Tepe III Black on Red Wares
IB: Ismailabad (Cheshmeh Ali)
IA: Jeitun

Based on this figure, the sequence seems straightforward. In fact, much of it is only partially known (i.e. IA and IB), and the exact definition of the sequence of other parts remains a mystery (i.e. periods IIIA-IIIC2). We can say for certain, however, based upon the ceramics the Wulsins recovered, that the period their

figurines came from corresponds to Tureng III. The majority of the ceramics by the Wulsins reported are Pattern-Burnished Grey Wares, though other types are present (Coarse Grey Wares, Coarse and Fine Red Wares, Brown Wares, etc.). While it is not possible at this time to distinguish between IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC on the basis of the Wulsins's data, there is no doubt that the Red and Grey Ladies and Gentlemen are associated with Tureng III.

While the relative chronological sequence of Tureng Tepe is still a work in progress, at least it is comprehensive. Despite the plaudits that must be given to Deshayes for actually taking radiocarbon samples and publishing the results, the radiocarbon sequence of the site that we have as a result of his work is confusing at best and downright contradictory at worst.

Table 3.1: The Radiocarbon Sequence of Tureng Tepe

Period	Sample	5568 B.P.	Calib. B.C.	Calib. Nge (2 σ)	Source
IIIC2	LY 1147	3580 \pm 130	1911 B.C.	2285-1538 B.C.	Hiebert 1994:87
IIIC	LY 2302	3690 \pm 130	2089 B.C.	2462-1699 B.C.	Hiebert 1994:87
IIIC	LY 2301	3620 \pm 130	1957 B.C.	2393-1634 B.C.	Hiebert 1994:87
IIIC	TUNC 42	3520 \pm 70	1836 B.C.	2027-1676 B.C.	Hiebert 1994:87
Period	Sample	Date BP	--	Calibrated (1 σ)	Source
IIIC1	Gif 3339	4000 \pm 110	--	2550-2185 B.C.	Deshayes 1975
IIIB	Gif 485 [D1 (7), =A4]	1920 \pm 200	--	2655-2105 B.C.	Deshayes 1969
IIB	Gif 301	2375 \pm 250	--	3360-2780 B.C.	Deshayes 1967: 13

As is clear, the sequence needs to be fleshed out and refined. The original dates given by Deshayes suggest a much older date for the periods under

consideration here in this thesis. The 2-sigma calibrated dates for Tureng Tepe suggest a younger date, but are still internally inconsistent. For example, the IIIC2 date should come out to younger than any dates from IIIC, but it actually falls pretty close to the average range for IIIC. Additionally, the 2-sigma intervals are enormous, in some cases ranging up to a 700-year span, which does not inspire a great deal of confidence in the accuracy or precision of the date. Additionally, it is difficult to compare the dates with a 2-sigma distribution to those with a 1-sigma distribution. Nevertheless, it would appear that the Tureng IIIC period occurs some time in the late 3rd to early 2nd millennia BCE.

Summary

The site of Tureng Tepe is the largest site on the Gorgān Plain. Previous excavations by the Wulsins in 1931 and Jean Deshayes in the 1960s and '70s have shown that it could be considered the type-site for the region. Despite the site's critical importance to understanding the patterning of the archaeological record in the Gorgān Valley and its immediate environs, there is still much we do not know about the site. For the purposes of this thesis, however, we can make several relevant observations based on previous work:

- (1) The majority of the figurines that make up the data for this thesis came from the West Mound (Mound C). This mound was excavated in 1931 by the Wulsins and between 1960 and 1962 by Jean Deshayes.
- (2) The West Mound contains a prehistoric sequence that runs from the Iron Age at the top to the Chalcolithic (and perhaps earlier) at the bottom.

(3) The majority of the figurines have come from the Bronze Age layers on the West Mound. In relative terms, this is the Tureng III period; in absolute terms, the most we can say is that it is some time between the middle of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE.

(4) Much work is necessary to clarify both the relative and absolute chronology of Tureng Tepe before systematic intra- and inter-regional comparison is possible.

Chapter 4: The Typology of Tureng Tepe Figurines

This chapter presents the typology of the Tureng Tepe figurine corpus. First, the Wulsins's typology will be discussed, before a revised and more comprehensive typology is presented. The revised typology is morphology-based, meaning that its primary axes concern the physical form and decoration of the figurines. Each type has unique and characteristic attributes that will also be discussed. Throughout the presentation of the typology, relevant comparanda will be presented, in order to help place this corpus within its regional and historical context.

The Wulsins never published nor formulated a typology of their figurine finds. The following figure is what a formal typology would have looked like based upon their field-notes and publications:

Figure 4.1: The Wulsin Tureng Tepe Figurine Typology

Figurines

Type I = Stone Pendants

Type II = Red Figurines

IIA = Red "Ladies"

IIB = Red "Gentlemen"

Type III = Grey Figurines

IIA = Grey "Ladies"

IIB = Grey "Gentlemen"

The terminology used, referring to the figurines as "Ladies and Gentlemen" is adopted from their field-notes and catalog cards. I have chosen to retain this usage because the baked clay figurines from Tureng Tepe are striking in their naturalism

compared to figurines from all other contemporary sites in the region. As documentation of much of the analytical work that the Wulsins surely must have accomplished after returning from the field is unavailable, it is impossible to say whether they refined (or ever truly created) a typology of figurines from Tureng Tepe. Their publications suggest that they were satisfied to present the figurines to the scholarly community as they had discussed them in their field-notes. This characterization of the corpus, while admirable considering the non-professional status of the Wulsins, unfortunately does not address the full range of variation in this corpus.

Figure 4.2: The Revised Tureng Tepe Figurine Typology

Stone Figurines

Type I = Fiddle-shaped Pendants (e.g. Figure 4.4)

Type II = Hourglass-shaped Figurines (e.g. TT385, TT444, 32-41-20)

Clay Figurines

Type III = Red Figurines

IIIA = Red “Ladies” (e.g. TT024-TT027)

IIIB = Red “Gentlemen” (e.g. TT221, TT348, TT641)

IIIC = Red Unknown (e.g. TT650)

Type IV = Grey Figurines

IVA = Standing Grey Figurines

IVA₁ = Grey “Ladies” (e.g. TT648)

IVA₂ = Grey “Gentlemen” (e.g. TT651)

IVA₃ = Grey Unknown (e.g. TT369, TT656)

IVB = Seated Grey Figurines (e.g. TT370)

Indeed, as is clear in the chart above, I have distinguished four major types, and nine total types. Perhaps in the total corpus at Tureng Tepe, there are more types to be found, as Deshayes’s work suggests, but this is the available information we have to go on. In the section below, I will discuss both the reasoning behind each

of the divisions within the typology, each type's defining characteristics and features, as well as relevant comparanda.

Axes of Typological Division

The Wulsins did not emphasize the first major axis of difference within the corpus in their notes or publications. This distinction, between stone and clay figurines, is important because not only is the overall style of depiction entirely different across these two different materials and in comparanda. After material, the second major axis is based upon external color of the figurines. While the Wulsins were correct in making a major distinction between red and grey figurines, within those categories their further subdivision was based entirely on complete pieces; that is to say, they ignored the messier business of the (far more numerous) fragmentary remains.

After color, the next important distinction is between seated and standing figurines. While this primarily concerns the Grey Figurine category, it is important due to the total absence of seated specimens in the Red Figurine category. The distinction between seated and standing figurines is significant for purposes of inter-regional comparison, as both seated and standing figurines are common in this time period, but in different places. Unfortunately, the pieces from Tureng Tepe are too fragmentary to be used in such an analysis. It is hoped, however, that future analyses will clarify the inter-cultural relationships indexed by the distribution of figurine styles across the Ancient Near East.

After posture, the final major axis of difference in the dataset is by sex/gender, as within the Types 'Red Figurine' and 'Grey Figurine', the data can be

further classified into 'Ladies', 'Gentlemen', and 'Unknown'. The figurines are sexed based on the presence or absence of the following features: breasts, beards, penises, and testes. For example, presence of breasts and lack of beard/penis/testes indicates female, and vice-versa.

It is important to note, however, the highly problematic nature of sexing figurines. Over the last 30 years, this question of assigning a sexed or gendered identification to figurines has been one of the central concerns of figurine studies. While the archaeological study of gender originated in a desire to locate the "missing" women in the past (e.g., Conkey & Spector 1984, Gero & Conkey 1991), it quickly developed into an important critical dialog interrogating the construction and negotiation of biosocial categories such as sex and gender in past social life, as well as the impact that our modern ontologies have on our interpretation of the archaeological record (Talalay 1994; Meskell 1995; Tringham & Conkey 1998; Sorenson 2000; cf. Haaland & Haaland 1995).

The questions raised by these scholars are hugely important to the archaeological enterprise; their work has shown that empirical rigor and theoretical nuance are necessary to be able to perform sex/gender analyses of figurines – or on any other data, for that matter. In this case, however, we are not dealing with little pinched pieces of clay that have some holes poked in them and/or merely suggestive morphological forms. The clay figurines from Tureng Tepe are forcefully naturalistic in many of their details. The particulars will be dealt with below, but suffice it to say that these figurines are clearly marked for sex/gender, in a way that permits sexed/gendered identification based off of secondary sexual features and

pose. Despite the problems inherent in gender analysis, in the absence of text in northeastern Iran, these figurines are the best source we have about how people conceptualized the human body and the categories of social difference to which it could belong during the Bronze Age in this region.

Stone Figurines

While the Stone Figurines are similar in that they are small, flat, abstract representations of the human form, they can be subdivided into two different types.

Table 4.1: Typological Inventory – Stone Figurines

Type	Fiddle Shaped	Hourglass	Total
Complete	3	0	3
~Complete	0	2	2
Fragments	0	0	0
Total N	3	2	5

Within the Stone Figurines, Type I is distinguished from Type II by several factors: (1) Size, (2) Silhouette, and (3) Embellishment. The figurines of Type I are very small in size, especially in comparison to those of Type II. The figurines of Type I have fiddle-shaped silhouettes, reminiscent of the silhouettes of the Namazga IV/V figurines from Turkmenistan. The figurines of Type II, on the other hand, have hourglass-shaped silhouettes, more similar to the stone figurines of Tepe Hissār and Shāh Tepe. The last axis of difference within the Stone Figurines is in terms of their decoration.

The figurines of Type I are decorated only with a simple perforation through the ‘head’. These figurines were clearly meant to be used as pendants. The figurines of Type II also only display one decorative feature, but in this case, it is prominent breasts with clearly indicated nipples rather than a piercing. These figurines

probably had heads at one point, but these were missing at their time of recovery. Similar finds at Hissār did, however, have piercings in the head, but presumably for attaching earrings. It is also worth mentioning that the figurines of Type I were found by the Wulsins in their 1931 excavation, whereas the figurines of Type II were part of the famed “Astarabad Treasure” discovered by Colonel de Bode (1844).

Clay Figurines

The Clay Figurines are first and foremost divided between the Red and Grey Categories, types III and IV respectively.

Table 4.2: Typological Inventory – Clay Figurines

Type	Red Ladies	Red Gents	Red Unk.	Grey Ladies	Grey Gents	Grey Unk.	Grey Seated	Total
Complete	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
~Complete	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
Fragments	13	3	19	10	1	21	4	71
Total N	19	5	19	11	1	21	4	80

The next axis is between seated and standing. It is significant that for the Red category there are no attested examples of seated figurines, but there are four specimens from the Grey category that fall into the seated type. The last axis of difference is between Male, Female, and Unknown.

The basis for identifying figurines as female was three-fold: (1) Figurines with pubic triangles not featuring a penis or testes, (2) Presence of breasts, and (3) Posed either with arms extended out to the sides parallel to the shoulders, or arms flexed with the elbows out to the sides and the hands covering the breasts. The basis for identifying figurines as male was also three-fold: (1) Presence of a penis and testes, (2) Presence of a beard, and (3) Posed with arms hanging to sides, elbows

slightly flexed with curled fists. All pieces that could not be identified based on these 6 features were lumped into a remainder category of Red or Grey 'Unknown'.

Descriptive Summary of the Types

Now that the typology has been laid out in its most basic terms, it will be useful to examine the types in more detail. In this section, each of the nine types will be discussed separately in order to elaborate on their particular features and characteristics. This will entail a consideration of their morphological features, their decorative characteristics, as well as relevant pieces of comparanda.

- *Type I – Fiddle-shaped Pendants*

The Fiddle-shaped Pendants are small stone anthromorphs ranging between two and five centimeters in height, 2.25 and 2.5 centimeters in breadth and between 0.3 and 0.5 centimeters in thickness. In varying degrees, the figurines all have the same silhouette. They have a rounded lower body that narrows as it rises to where the arms begin. The arms are quasi-triangular stumps that extend out to the sides, rising diagonally from the narrowest point of the body and returning horizontally to the neck. In two of the examples, the head is a triangle that extends upward from the flat shoulders, whereas in the third, the head is a slightly outward-flaring rectangle (TT385, TT444). These figurines have no decorative features, aside from the two that have holes bored through them. On the smallest example (TT385), the hole is bored right through the middle of the chest, whereas on the other it is bored through the head (32-41-20). The largest example does not have any holes or decoration (TT444).

The Fiddle-shaped Pendants have parallels to finds at nearby Shah Tepe, as well as to the figurines of Namazga IV/V in Turkmenistan. In particular the piece curated at UPM (32-41-20) is nearly identical to a piece found in Layer IIa (Late Bronze Age) at Shah Tepe (Arne 1945:253, fig 256). The figurines from Turkmenistan are obviously much more heavily decorated than these stone pendants and are made of clay. As a result, the parallel lies primarily in the silhouette of the body. The outlines of these stone pendants are similar, and in some cases identical to, the silhouettes of the 'violin-shaped' so-called goddesses found at sites such as Namazga-depe, Altyn-depe, and Gonur (Masson & Sarianidi 1973, Sarianidi 1981, Hiebert 1994). Some pieces from Margiana are especially curious, as many of them also have pierced holes in the head, though presumably not for turning them into a pendant (Figure 4.3) While the parallels are clear, their significance unfortunately remains a matter of speculation.

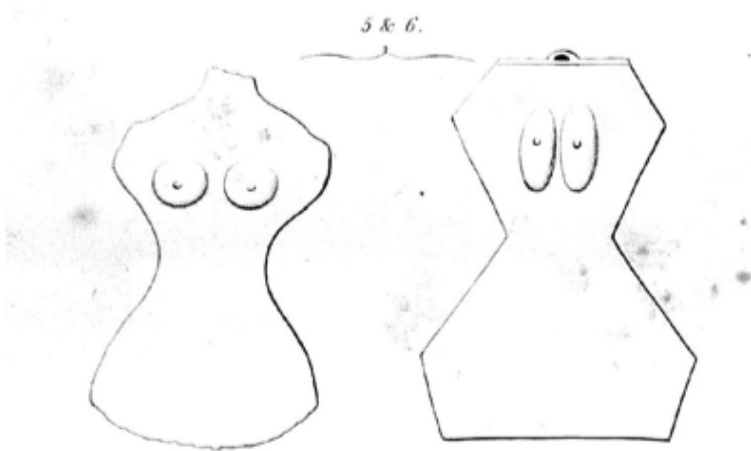
Figure 4.3: Figurines from Gonur (Masson & Sarianidi 1973: Tabl. IX)



- *Type II – Hourglass-shaped Figurines*

This type of figurine is attested by two examples from Tureng Tepe, both belonging to the Astarabad Treasure⁹. These two figurines are of the same style, though of clearly different execution. De Bode described the first of the two as a “mutilated female figure, of a reddish or flesh-colored stone” (de Bode 1844:250). Its overall shape is curvaceous, having a round bottom and a wide base (Figure 4.4). The form curves gracefully upward to a thin waist, from which it curves more steeply out to form knobs projecting outward – presumably the arms. Its shoulders rise upward to a thin neck, which has been separated from the head (perhaps de Bode’s reason for describing it as having been ‘mutilated’). Its only decoration is two prominent circular breasts with nipples clearly indicated.

Figure 4.4: Figurines from the Astarabad Treasure (de Bode 1844)



The second of the two pieces is quite similar. De Bode describes it as being formed from a “yellowish-white stone, [...] resembl[ing] somewhat the marble of Maragha, in the province of Aderbeijan” (ibid). This piece’s form is much less

⁹ There are also indications that Deshayes found figurines like these during his campaigns as well (Deshayes 1965), but those finds are not factored into this study.

graceful than the former. It has a flat base in the shape of a bottom-heavy hexagon (Figure 4.4). The changes in direction of the silhouette are sharply angular; the top-half of the figurine is a mirror reflection of the bottom half, just slightly smaller. There is a hole in the top where another piece, presumably a head, was at one time attached. The breasts are oval shaped, with nipples also clearly indicated.

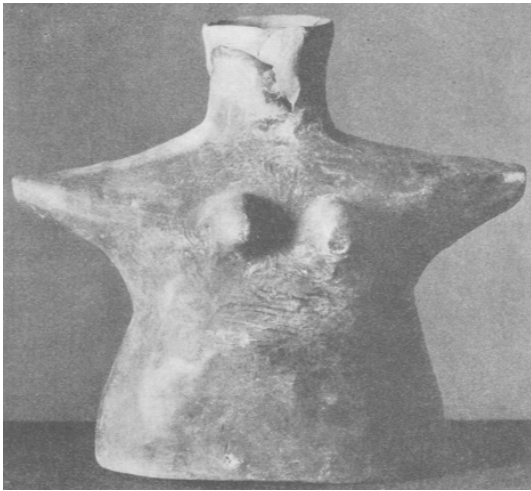
Figure 4.5: Stone Hourglass Figurine from Tepe Hissār (Schmidt 1937)



The closest parallels to the Hourglass-shaped Stone Figurines come from Tepe Hissār. These figurines also depict the human form in an extremely stylized manner. They stand on a flat base and are shaped in the form of two triangles, one pointing up and the other inverted; the waist is where the points of the triangles meet (Schmidt 1937: Plate CXXXII). The figurines have either rhomboid or columnar heads, with no facial features indicated – though some specimens have 3 to 4

pierced holes in the head located just inside the corners of the head's extremities (Figure 4.5). The body features no adornment aside from breasts (ibid:191-94). There are other similar examples of silhouette and breast only figurines from Tepe Hissār and Shah Tepe, but these are fashioned from clay, and are large hollow bodied vessels, as opposed to small solid effigies (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Anthropomorphic Vessels from Shah Tepe and Tepe Hissār



Tepe Hissār (Schmidt 1937)



Shah Tepe (Arne 1945)

- *Type IIIA – Red Ladies*

The Red Ladies are a spectacular group of figurines, with visually striking features and a high degree of anatomical fidelity. They also have parallels in specific features and poses to figurines from other regions, the significance of which isn't entirely clear. In either case, they are unique to the region, and deserve a full treatment of all of their details.

The Red Ladies range from 23 to 25 centimeters in height and are modeled realistically in three dimensions. A bun tops their heads – it is possible that this was an anchor for further decorations to be attached. Their spade-shaped faces have two

deeply set eyes, which were presumably inlaid with some material. Large rectangular ears, pierced by 3 to 5 holes, frame their faces. They have sharp long noses, and no mouth. Their shoulders slope gently, and the arms are bent with the elbows out to the side. Their hands cover their breasts; on some of the Ladies the fingers are well modeled, on others, they are simply marked by incisions. Their stomachs are thin and feature a belly button and incised decorations bisecting their trunks. They have narrow waists with wide, but not exaggerated hips. The Ladies have long legs that culminate in large flat-bottomed feet, sometimes decorated with incisions indicating slippers. These figurines could have easily stood freely before they were broken. They are constructed from fine clay, the surface of which ranges from a deep reddish-orange which grades into tan, and some have the remains of a dark red ferrous slip on their surfaces.

In terms of their decoration, the Red Ladies are uniform in several ways – their overall shape, the presence of a bun on top, incised hairlines, two deeply incised eyes, a sharp pinched nose, ears with holes, and no mouth. The variation between the different examples lies in the execution of these features. For instance, there are two ways the hairline is depicted: straight across or with a widow's peak. With the eyes there are also two styles – one in which the eyes are deeply punctated and left hollow, and one where the eyeholes have been inlaid with some kind of white-colored material. All of the heads are adorned with rectangular flanged ears that extend out from the side of the head, but they differ in that on some heads the ears are pierced with three holes, whereas on others they are pierced with four holes.

The torsos are also uniform in many ways. All but one of the specimens has their breasts covered by their hands. All of the Red Ladies have medial hairs or tattooing indicated running down the middle of the belly. These markings vary insofar as some are stippled, others are in the shape of chevrons or inverted chevrons, and one example where the markings are parallel horizontal lines intersecting a single vertical incision running from between the breasts to the top of the pubic area. All of the torsos feature a bellybutton. Some of the bellybuttons are simple punctations, while others are inlaid with a white material similar to the eyes.

The arms are depicted in two ways. The first is with the elbows flexed out to the sides and the hands attached to the torso, covering the breasts. The fingers of the hands are either modeled individually or simply incised into the hands where they attach to the torso. The second way is with the arms outstretched to the sides with no elbows or hands depicted.

A pubic area is indicated on many of the specimens. These take one of four forms. The first is an inverted triangle with interior stipples and an incised outline. The second is an inverted triangle with interior stipples and a stippled outline. The third is an inverted triangle with no interior decoration and a stippled outline. The final form is that of a stippled inverted triangle with no outline.

The standing hip has a pubic area indicated, albeit with an undefined shape. The side fragment has both medial hair and a pubic area indicated, as well as part of a breast. The legs are all similar in that the pubis is indicated, they have modeled knees and feet attached. The feet are attached to sexable bodies are unadorned.

The closest parallels to the Red Ladies come from Mārlik in Gilān, Alishar

Huyuk in Anatolia, Mari in Syria, Ashur in Assyria and Nippur in Sumeria. These figurines all date to between 2900 BCE¹⁰ and 1800 BCE¹¹ (Dales 1960). This time interval is approximately contemporary with the Tureng III period. As discussed in Chapter 3, to the best of our knowledge radiocarbon dates for the Tureng sequence are confusing at best and contradictory at worst (cf. Voigt & Dyson 1992).

Nevertheless, features common to these figurines include standing posture, decorative elaboration on the head (but no mouths), the same pose with the hands covering the breasts, belly buttons, pubic triangles, and in many cases flanged rectangular ears with three to five holes pierced through them (cf. Dales 1960, Ackerman 1938). Examining the full significance of these parallels will have to be the subject of another paper.

- *Type IIIB – Red Gentlemen*

The Red Gentlemen are similar in size and proportion to the Red Ladies, but are far fewer in number. They are, however, no less unique in the region. Other sites, such as Marlik, Nausharo, Mehrgarh, and Harappa have standing male figurines, but none so naturalistically depicted.

The Red Gentlemen's heads and facial features are just about identical to the Red Ladies, but with one exception; the males have a stippled beard. Their other secondary sexual features are indicated by applique. Indeed, both of the male specimens with an intact torso and pubis bear small nipples, testes, and a penis. Their posture differs from the ladies, however, in that their arms hang down to the

¹⁰ The end of the Jemdet-Nasr and beginning of Early Dynastic Periods (Thornton 2009:xv-xix).

¹¹ The end of the Isin-Larsa period (ibid).

side; based on limb fragments the hands are presumably curled into a fist. The Red Gentlemen are constructed from the same material as the Red Ladies, though it appears that one of the specimens has a tan-colored slip. This piece is only an arm fragment, however, and the appearance of a slip could be indicative of post-depositional processes as much as anything else.

As far as the way the Red Gentlemen are decorated, they share much in common with the Red Ladies. Like the Red Ladies, they have a wide spade-shaped face, and a bun on top of the head. Between the two specimens, the straight and widow's peak hairlines are both present. The eyes are either incised or inlaid with a white material, and there is a sharp nose. Neither of the specimens have mouths. The ears are rectangular and flange out from the side of the heads. The ears are pierced with either three or four holes, again presumably for attachment of earrings. The most significant difference between the heads of the Red Gentlemen and the Red Ladies is the presence of stippled beards adorning the chins of the Red Gentlemen.

The Red Gentlemen have much simpler torsos than the Red Ladies. They are broad shouldered and slender waisted. On all three specimens, nipples have been attached via applique. Two of the specimens have chest hair indicated on the torso by stippling. All three bear traces of medial hair or tattooing down the middle of the torso from the nipple line to the top of the pubis indicated by stippling. All three torsos feature a belly button. The pubis is depicted as an inverted triangle filled with stippling.

The arms are depicted several ways. There are straight and flexed arms that end in a well-modeled hand with individually crafted fingers. In both examples that exist they are curled, but it is important to note that none of the male figurines were found with their arms still attached. The range of known depictions of arms and hands for females suggests that these examples probably belonged to a male, but it cannot be said for certain. The legs are long and robust, and feature modeled knees and broad flat feet. No decorated feet were found directly attached to a securely sexable Red Gentleman.

The parallels to the Red Gentlemen merit some discussion. In particular the figurines from Marlik, Nausharo, and Harappa are most comparable. It must be noted that the figurines from Marlik come from Iron Age burials, and thus surely post-date the Red Gentlemen (Piller 2008). The figurines from Nausharo and Harappa, however, come from the third millennium BCE, and are thus, broadly comparable to the Tureng corpus.

The figurines from Mārlik include five males specimens, made of a burnished deep red clay (Figure 4.7). The figurines are free standing, and stand between 35 and 46 cm tall. They feature incised decorations and a certain degree of anatomical fidelity. There are also curious anatomical distortions, however, as many of them have 6-toed feet, and extremely large heads; additionally, the figurines have open mouths and spouts protruding from their chests. These attributes are not found on any of the male figurines at Tureng Tepe. The Mārlik figurines are decorated with many features. Their ovoid-triangular faces feature pierced ears, but they do not have headdresses or necklaces. Their bodies bear a number of incised markings, but

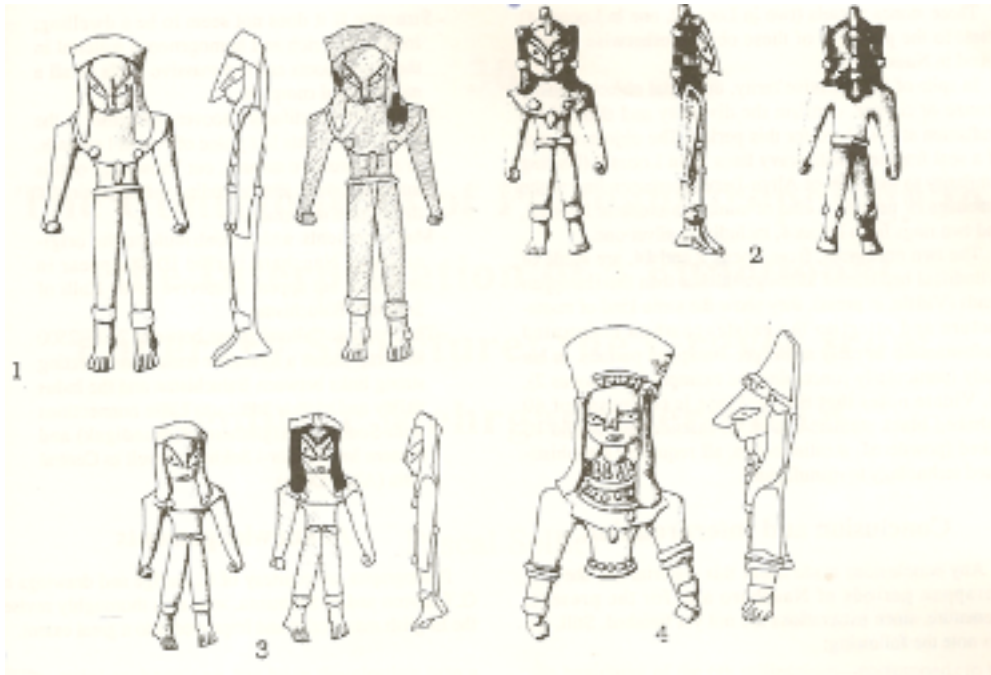
none like the Red Gentlemen. Four of the five males carry a large dagger at the waist, attached by a wide belt in three of the four examples. They do feature penises, though these seem to be molded, rather than appliqued, and are much larger and project outward from the body.

Figure 4.7: The Male Figurines from Mārlik (Negahban 1979)



A group of eight male figurines was recovered from the site of Nausharo in Baluchistan (Figure 4.8). They date to the later phases at Mehrgarh, specifically VI and VII (Samzun 1992). This corresponds roughly to the Kot Diji phase at Harappa (the Early Harappan period). The figurines feature headdresses, painted eyes, and some have elaborate necklaces. They do have applique mouths, but there is no indication of piercing of the head on any of the figurines. They do appear to have been painted all over, especially on the heads. They have appliqued nipples, amulets, bangles, belts, and anklets. Some of the examples have belly buttons indicated. All of the examples except for one have the same arm position, hanging out to the sides, with curls at the end indicating a fist (though no fingers are indicated). They all have separate legs and feet with toes indicated, although it does not appear that they could stand free, despite their standing posture. They all appear to have been hand modeled.

Figure 4.8: Male Figurines from Nausharo (Samzun 1992)



The male figurines from Harappa are hand molded from two pieces of clay pushed together at the center (Figure 4.9). Their heads are rather simple usually just featuring eyes, a nose, and a mouth, all appliqued, as well as simple necklaces. They also feature large appliqued nipples and incised belly buttons. They do not have any material covering their genitals; in fact, their testes and penises are quite prominent. In terms of their posture, they are also standing, with arms to the sides. The hands, if depicted, appear to rest against the side of the upper thighs. No information is available about their feet or their ability to stand freely (Clark 2009).

Figure 4.9: Male Figurines from Harappa (Clark 2009)



None of these pieces of comparanda display any exact parallel to the Red Gentlemen, just general similarities in form and decoration. A systematic cross-cultural analysis would probably bear out the assumption that female figurines have much more in common across the Ancient Near East.

- *Type IIIC – Red Unknown*

The Red Unknown pieces are composed of the remainder of the figurine fragments from the Wulsin excavations. These pieces contain no sexable/gender identifiable information, but probably would have originally belonged to a Lady or a Gentleman. There is only one piece that is gender/sex ambiguous.

The first three unknown pieces are all leg fragments with feet attached. Two of these feet have indications of slippers or shoes. The slipper or shoe is usually rendered as an incision around the ankle dividing the foot from the leg with an

incised vertical line running down the foot and incisions running horizontally outward from the vertical line toward the edge of the foot. The rest of the Red Unknown pieces are from a large find of Red limb fragments (TT650) that were all found during the cleaning of a section wall in Square 2 and were cataloged together. The Wulsins did not save any information about these pieces other than to record when, where, and what was found.

The gender/sex ambiguous piece is unique within the corpus (TT642). It was one of the pieces that stayed in Iran after the division of finds, and unfortunately the only visual record of it is a line and ink drawing on a catalog card. It is a head fragment, broken off at the neck; it has all the usual features, a bun, incised eyes, a sharp nose and no mouth. The rest of the piece is rather confusing, however. It appears to have seven or eight piercings on the right side of the head and only five on the left. The outside of the ear flanges has been snapped off, so it is difficult to tell if these piercings actually are what they appear to be. The Wulsins assigned it as a "Head of Red Figurine (Male)", but I am not so certain; therefore, I have assigned it to Red Unknown.

As far as comparanda is concerned, the only identifiable and unique pieces in this category are completely unparalleled. Nowhere else in the figurine record of the Near East before the Old Babylonian period and their mold-made figurines is there such detail paid to the feet of figurines. The slippers/shoes indicated on these leg fragments help support the argument that the figurine makers of Tureng Tepe were capable of incredible detail and naturalism when they desired to create it.

- *Type IVA₁ – Grey Ladies*

Standing specimens with elaborate headdresses, large breasts, outstretched arms and clearly indicated pubic triangles compose Type IVA₁. Their heads are distinguished by tresses of applied hair, as well as by elaborate composite headdresses featuring applied flowers and a space to attach other (missing) parts. Similar to the Red Ladies, they have deeply set eyes, again presumably for inlays, sharp long noses and no mouths. The complete Grey Lady (TT648) has applique breasts and a number of decorative applique elements such as necklaces and bracelets. Based on the complete Grey Lady, this type does not feature hands and the feet are much smaller in comparison to those of the Red figurines.

The Grey Ladies of this type are made from very fine clay, and it is possible that parts of their surfaces have been burnished. The color of their surfaces ranges from a light grey to almost black; the same range of surface colors is also observed in the burnished grey wares from Tureng Tepe. In addition to their color and quality of paste, the posture of the Grey Ladies sets them apart from the Red Ladies and Gentlemen. Based on the complete specimen, as well as the torsos and hips, there seem to be two postures in the first type. The first is with the arms outstretched to the sides parallel to the shoulders, and the second is with the arms outstretched raising to the sides (TT326). The second posture is observed in only one specimen, a torso whose features are very similar to those of the torso of the complete figurine.

This type also includes two large head fragments with attached headdresses. If the size of these fragments is any indication, the full specimens must have been quite impressive – perhaps up to 30 centimeters in height. Unfortunately, other than

by analogy with the complete specimen, there is little indication as to what the full bodily form of the second type may have been like. In any case, these heads are of particular interest. They are adorned with a large headdress that extends upward and backward from the top of the head. The base of the headdress appears to be part of the head, meaning that it was not attached as a separate piece. There are, however, a great number of applique elements further elaborating the headdress.

Common to all three examples are appliqued flowers that consist of a central button surrounded by four petals, which often have incised marks running down the middle indicating the central vein. These flowers are arranged in several ways, but generally the headdress is topped with four such flowers, one facing the front, to both sides and to the back. On one of the head fragments, there is also a large flower adorning the nape of the neck. Below the flowers that adorn the top of the headdress there are many appliqued tresses and buttons, perhaps indicating the jewelry strung into the hair, or the actual hair itself. On all three examples, as far as can be told, tresses of hair also extend down the sides of the face. The faces themselves are more oval shaped than the Red Ladies, but also feature deeply incised eyes, on some of which the original white inlay remained. The faces also parallel the Red Ladies in having sharply pinched prominent noses and no mouths.

The torsos are also heavily decorated. They all feature some form of necklaces, which drape down across the shoulders to the top of the breasts. Some of these necklaces are adorned with little applique buttons placed in the center of the bands of necklaces, making a straight line of buttons down the middle of the upper chest. Presumably these depict pendants, beads, or other embellishments on the

necklaces. The breasts are appliqued, and many of the examples also feature small applique nipples. As with the Red Ladies and Gentlemen, medial hairs or tattooing are indicated with incised decorations, in this case either chevrons or inverted chevrons. All of the specimens also feature a bellybutton, some of which were inlaid with a white material, some of which were not – presumably this is the effect of differential preservation.

The arms in most cases are extended out to the sides, but in one example raise upward from the shoulders. The complete Grey Lady (TT648) features bangles or bracelets on both arms, and has no hands.

The pubis is indicated with an inverted triangle filled with stipples, or in no clear shape with stipples. The pubis is indicated on the complete specimen, on several of the torso fragments, and on the standing and sitting hips, as well as the legs and the sides. The standing hip features an incised chevron decoration running up the outside of the hip, but bears no other features other than a hint of an indicated pubic area. The sitting hip features a pubic area and a well-modeled knee. The legs are generally in a standing posture with pubic hair indicated, modeled knees, and the feet attached, but no other decoration. The side fragments feature indications of pubic areas as well as parts of breasts.

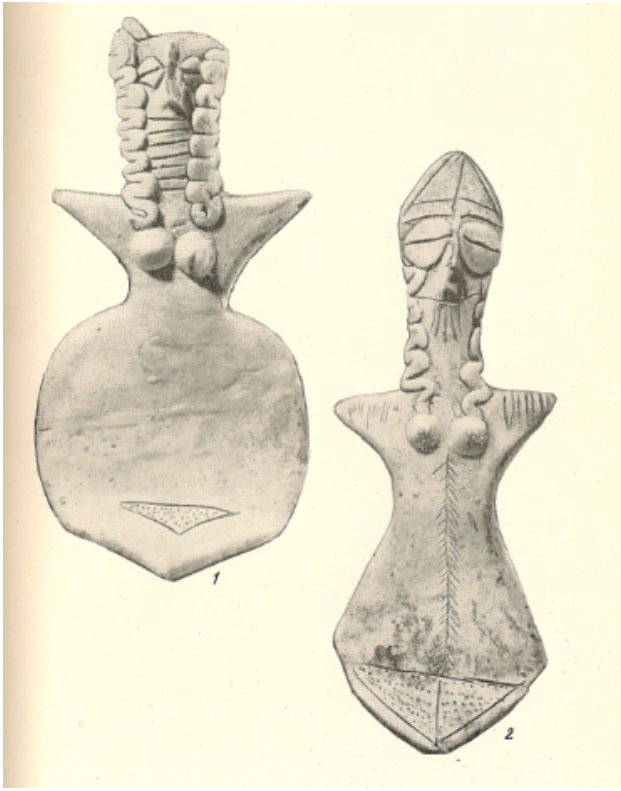
The closest parallels of the Grey Ladies are to Turkmenistan, Susa, and Tell Asmar (Eshnunna). The figurines from Turkmenistan that are most similar to the Grey Ladies are from the Namazga IV and V periods (2800-2200 BCE) and the figurines from Susa and Eshnunna date to the Ur III period (21st century BCE). The

Namazga dates overlap with most of the early Tureng III sequence, but the Ur III dates correspond most closely to Tureng IIIC1.

The figurines most comparable with the Grey Ladies are the 'violin-shaped' figurines of the Namazga V period found at Namazga-depe and Altyn-depe, as well as at various sites in Margiana (cf. Masson & Sarianidi 1973, Dales 1960). These figurines are different in many ways, due to their two dimensional modeling seated posture, but they also display similarities in the treatment of the head and depiction of sexual features. Sarianidi claims that Namazga V (the period approximately equivalent to Tureng IIIA-C) witnessed a number of stylistic changes in figurines (1968). Kircho, on the other hand, argues that this shift began in Namazga IV, a period in which there was more variability in the different types of figurines made and used, especially at Altyn-depe (1992).

Regardless of whether the transition began in Namazga IV (Early Bronze Age) or Namazga V (Middle Bronze Age), by the time of the Tureng Tepe figurines, the tradition in Turkmenistan changed from rendering figurines in the round to sitting flat statuettes. The new repertoire was dominated by figurines with outstretched arms lacking hands, waspy thin waists and broad hips. The figurines feature elaborate coiffures and curls of hair that have either been incised or applied to the head; also worthy of note: some of the examples have two holes pierced in the top of the head. The eyes are made primarily by means of attaching a flat button and cutting a slit horizontally through the middle. The breasts are also depicted by applique.

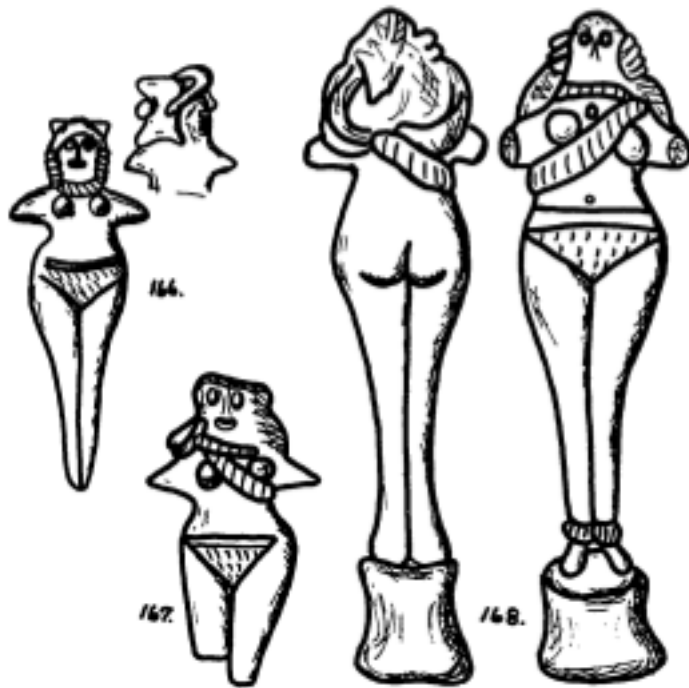
Figure 4.10: Namazga IV/V Figurines (Masson & Sarianidi 1973: Tabl. I)



Some examples seem to have necklaces indicated by incisions of various kinds on the neck, but most examples have markings on the arms and/or stomach and back. In some cases, these decorations are quite similar to the markings that run up the stomachs of the Tureng figurines, but in others they are more similar to the design etched into the hip fragment (i.e. a single herringbone with a vertical bisector). Masson and Sarianidi note the presence of a wide variety of incised designs on the figurines and argue for the influence of proto-Elamite on these markings. They interpret these markings as evidence that the figurines represent specific identifiable deities, such as the corn deity or the water deity for instance (Masson & Sarianidi 1973). This issue will be returned to in the summary discussion.

In any case, not all examples feature a pubic triangle, but on those that do, it is generally coterminous with the triangular base upon which the figurine sits (Figure 4.10). The figurines do not have separated legs or feet, but some examples probably could have been placed upright without any supports on their seated base. The seated posture of figurines has a long history in Turkmenistan, as both the dominant Neolithic and Chalcolithic styles were primarily seated figures, but of clearly different proportions and style to the Bronze Age figurines.

Figure 4.11: Susa Figurines of the Ur III period (Dales 1960:110)

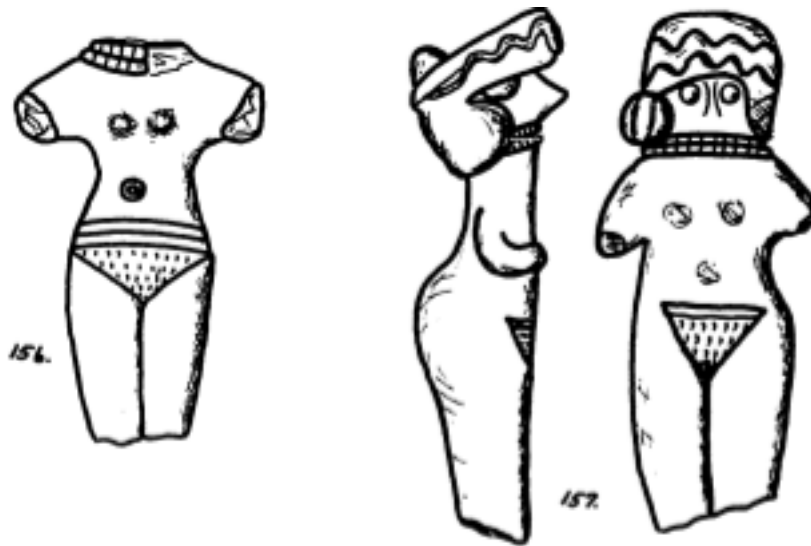


The clay figurines of the Ur III period at Susa display broad similarities to the Grey Ladies (Dales 1960). There is variation amongst this assemblage, but generally speaking, the figurines are standing with arms outstretched. They have elaborate headdresses, incised eyes and pinched noses. Some have mouths, while some don't. All have necklaces and applied breasts. There are no other decorations on their

torsos except for a belly button on one example. They have pubic triangles decorated in a variety of manners. Therefore it can be said that the Susa clay figurines bear some general resemblances to the Grey Ladies, but nothing specific enough to indicate a social connection between the figurine-makers and users of the two communities (Ackerman 1938).

The figurines from Eshnunna (Tell Asmar) also have some general similarities to the Grey Ladies (Dales 1960). They have a standing posture with arms outstretched parallel to the shoulders. They have a variety of headdresses, though it must be said, these headdresses bear few similarities to those of the Grey Ladies.

Figure 4.12: Female Figurines from Tell Asmar (Dales 1960)



They have necklaces, and what appear to be appliqued breasts. Some of the examples have bands across their stomachs, but others seem to have belly buttons. They have pubic triangles with incised outlines and stippled interiors. The legs are not separated in any of the available pieces. It is unclear whether they have feet, based on the illustrations in Dales 1960. Similarly to the Susa figurines, there

are not enough specific parallels between the Eshnunna figurines and the Grey Ladies to evidence contact. The general similarities are suggestive, however, of a shared figurine-making tradition. A full exploration of this hypothesis is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

- *IVA₂ = Grey Gentlemen*

The Grey Gentleman is a solitary piece, whose identification as male rests solely on his lack of the torso features that so clearly define the other pieces as female. The torso is broken off at the neck, above both elbows (assuming there were any) and just below the waist. Therefore, all we can say about this specimen is that it bears two small applique disks as nipples, has extended arms that are broken off in the middle of the upper arm, and that it is wearing a cummerbund of some kind, be it a belt, or a sash (TT651). There are, unfortunately, no obvious comparanda for the Grey Gentleman.

- *IVA₃ = Grey Unknown*

The Grey Unknown category, like the Red Unknowns, is comprised mostly of limb fragments with no identifiable sexual features. Among the pieces are extended arms, arms of unknown posture, arms with bent elbows, a hand curled into a fist, a hand with extended fingers, standing hip fragments, fragments of legs, and fragments of legs with feet attached. This category does not include any sex/gender ambiguous pieces. Many of these pieces are only documented visually on the catalog cards, preventing our ability to identify relevant comparanda.

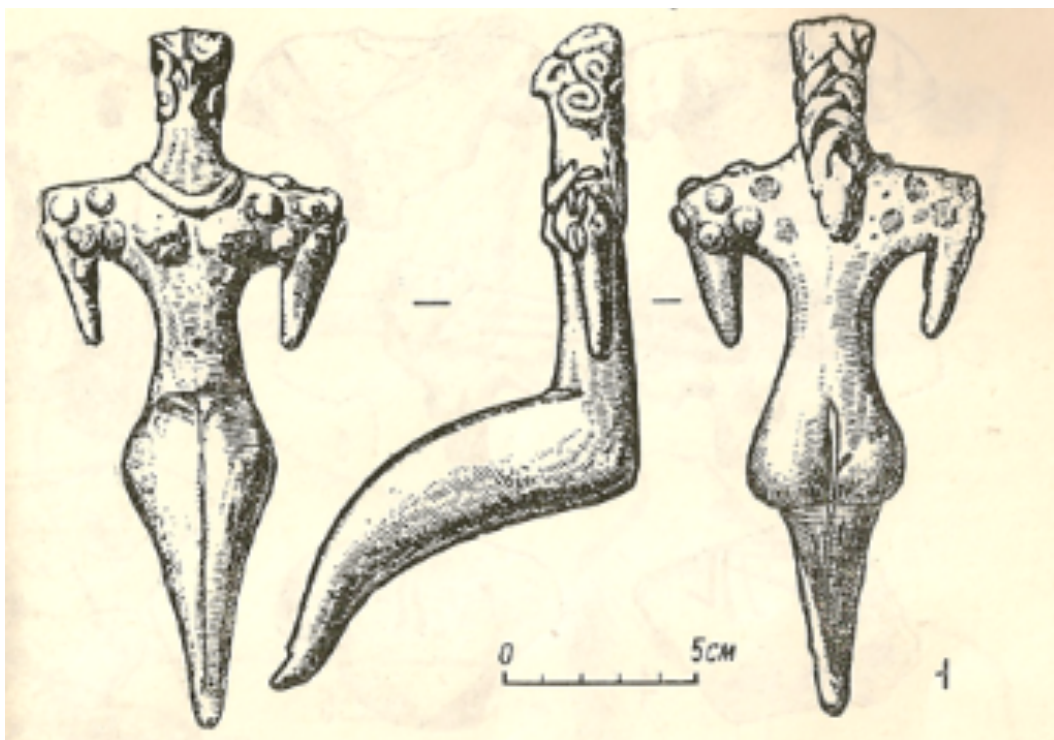
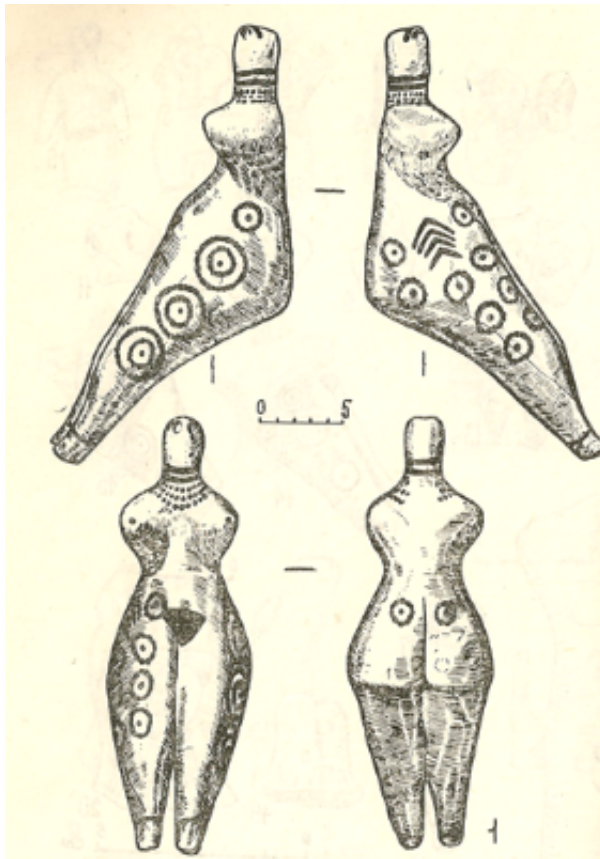
- *IVB – Seated Grey Figurines*

Figurines with a sitting posture compose Type IVB, though no complete specimens were found, only broken hips (e.g. TT355, TT370). These figurine fragments are all broken off at the waist and below the knee. Generally, they are broad-hipped, and for the examples where enough data is available, they seem to have incised pubic triangles like the standing Grey Ladies. They do not have separate legs, but rather just a sitting base. Unfortunately, due to the way that these pieces are broken, it is difficult to discern more details about them. These fragments appear to have similarities to the Chalcolithic-style figurines of Turkmenistan and certain types of figurines from the Indus civilization (cf. Antonova 1979, Solovyova 2005, Clark 2009). Unfortunately these similarities are difficult to comment further on due to the limited nature of this data.

Figure 4.13: Seated Female Figurines of the Indus (Jarrige 2005)



Figure 4.14: Seated Female Figurines of the Kopet Dagh (Antonova 1979)



Summary of Typology

Several important patterns are observed in the decoration of the figurines. Despite the identification of nine different types, a number of elements crosscut the types. First and foremost, the emphasis of decorative elaboration is on the head and the pubic region in all of the examples for which there is sufficient information. Several other features also remain fairly constant over the entire corpus.

The figurines that have heads all feature deeply incised eyes, a sharp beak-like nose, and no mouth. There are differences across color and sex/gender, however, in that the Grey Ladies are adorned with elaborate headdresses featuring applique flowers and tresses of hair, whereas the Red Ladies and Gentlemen simply have a bun protruding from the back of the head. Interestingly, however, it is probable that in both cases, further materials were attached to the head, as the Grey Ladies's headdresses had five holes poked into the top of them, presumably for attaching further materials. The buns on the tops of the red figurines could also have functioned as the jamb for a socketed decorative piece. The Red Ladies and Gentlemen differ from the Grey Ladies, however, insofar as they have large square ears with three to five holes for attaching earrings. The Red Ladies and Gentlemen also feature indications of hair, as both the Ladies and Gentlemen have stippling showing their hairlines. The males also have beards indicated on the chin, by the same technique. Overall, it is clear that the head was a site of considerable decorative elaboration, primarily in terms of incised and applique elements, as well as items that would have been attached in a variety of ways.

The Grey Ladies also feature jewelry, particularly necklaces and bangles, attached by applique. This form of decoration finds parallels in the Bronze Age figurines of Turkmenistan and the Indus. Based on the complete Grey Lady, and the several torso fragments, we see that these figurines wore anywhere from six to nine necklaces, many of which featured a pendant hanging at the center of the torso. The bangles were not adorned in the same manner, but were rather indicated as plain bands. The Red Ladies and Gentlemen feature no such decorative elements.

After the head, the next most important decorative emphasis is on secondary sexual characteristics. All of the pieces that are complete enough to provide information on the topic display pubic areas (in most cases triangles), generally indicated by stippling or light punctations. The females simply have these decorations and no further elaboration, whereas the males clearly have testes and a penis attached via applique. All the examples of standing figurines also feature a decorative pattern of punctations or stipples vertically bisecting the stomach, running from the pubic triangle to the breasts (for the females) or to the nipple line (for the males). These have been variously interpreted as medial hairs or tattooing, but this does not seem to be an answerable question. On the other hand, the males unambiguously feature chest hair, indicated by stippling. Other incised decorative elements include one example of a herringbone design bisected by a vertical line on the side of a grey hip fragment. This could be interpreted as indicating tattooing or other bodily modification such as scarification or paint. This design motif frequently occurs on Bronze Age figurines from Turkmenistan.

One of the particularly unique decorative features of this corpus is that some of the feet fragments are clearly wearing a laced slipper. Unfortunately all of the examples we have are from feet that are attached to leg fragments, which have been separated from their original bodies, rendering it impossible to tell whether they belong to male or females. Such details are unprecedented in the figural corpus of the region up until this time. The foot as a locus of decorative elaboration is picked up again in the Iron Age in the Mārlik corpus, but in this case the feet are naked but heavily decorated with incisions and stippling.

The Chalcolithic style Grey figurines are so fragmentary as to prohibit a detailed discussion of their decorative elements, though they do appear to feature pubic triangles, similar to the rest of the corpus. Other than that, there is very little decoration present on the available examples.

Overall, it is clear that there are a number of decorative elements that cross-cut the various categories of figurines at Tureng Tepe, as well as decorative emphases, such as a focus on the head (and its attachments) and secondary sexual features. These features help us to see that these figurines are all part of a distinct corpus, albeit one that has a significant amount of variability within it. The different morphological types index a common figurine-making tradition that the various manufacturers of the figurines tapped into in making these figurines.

The question remains then, given the similarity in decorative treatment of these figurines, what is the significance of the distinction between Red and Grey? I believe that perhaps only contextual information, a consideration of artifact and feature associations, and more systematic analysis of comparanda can begin to

answer this question. Regardless, it is clear that such distinct differences in the representation of the human body in fired clay had to be socially significant. In what manner these differences were significant, however, is yet unclear.

In the next chapter, the following analyses will be presented:

- (1) Gender/Sex Analysis
- (2) Breakage Analysis
- (3) Contextual Analysis
- (4) Cross Cultural Analysis
- (5) Semeiotic Analysis (in the discussion of Results/Implications)

Chapter 5: Analysis

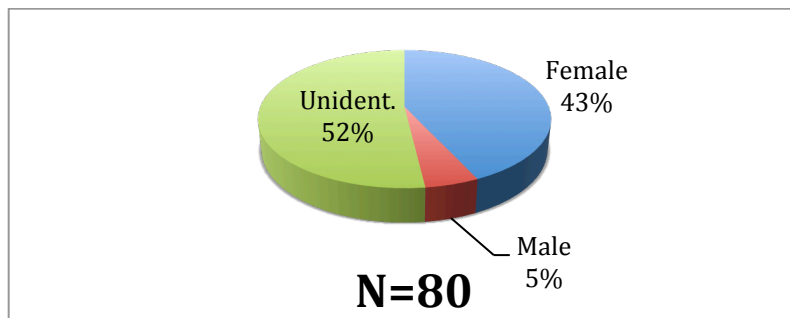
Now that the typology has been presented and we have moved from the theoretical (Chapter 2) to the data (Chapter 4), we can begin to discuss some of the implications of the empirical facts of the Tureng Tepe corpus. In this chapter, the different analyses proposed in the literature chapter will be conducted. First, I will address the question of gender. Following gender, I will analyze the patterns of breakage evident in the data. After breakage, it will all come together with the contextual analysis. A brief discussion of comparanda will follow context. The results will then be summarized and their implications discussed in light of semeiotics.

Sex/Gender Analysis

As proposed in Chapter 2, a gender analysis will be carried out on the Tureng Tepe figurines. Because of the intersectional nature of this analysis, it will have to be broken up across two different sections. The analysis is made up of the following components: (1) the gendered make-up of the collection, (2) their distribution across color and material, and (3) their spatial distribution. The first two will be considered in this section and the third in the contextual section.

In Chapter 4, the criteria for sexing/gendering a particular figurine piece were discussed. Based on Table 4.2, this is the distribution of sexed/gendered clay figurines that we see in the corpus.

Figure 5.1: Morphological Distribution of Sex/Gender



This finding is significant due for several reasons. It is important to note the high percentage of pieces that cannot be assigned a sex. Presumably these pieces belonged to a figurine that was markedly female or male, but given that many of the fragments are not available for study little more can be said about them.

On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the fact that most of the sexable figurines are marked as female. This distinction crosscuts material and color, for the pattern is seen both in stone and in clay figurines, as well as in both red and grey. It is worth mentioning, however, that no clearly male specimens of stone figurines were discovered, but the overall lack of features other than a silhouette on these pieces prohibits a more in depth analysis of their gendered implications. Returning to the clay figurines, it is interesting, however, that there are male figurines at all; as a general rule in the Gorgān, male figurines made of clay are rarely found. There are several clearly male figurines in the corpus from Mārlik, but the majority of the figurines from Turkmenistan are marked as female. As at Tureng Tepe, males are present, but in much smaller proportion to the females. We see this across the Red

and Grey divide as well. The exact proportions of male to female are different, but the same general pattern holds: there are a lot more female examples.

Returning again to evidence from other sites, there are examples of male and ambiguously sexed figurines from Tepe Yahya and Hissār (Schmidt 1937; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Meadow 1970). At Hissār, however, the stone figurines are primarily female. The bronze figurines from Hissār are difficult to sex due to their small size and schematic construction, but Schmidt identified them as male. In the Indus, however, male figurines become quite common in the corpus during the Bronze Age, perhaps representing up to 30% of the recovered finds (Jarrige & Lechevallier 1979:524).

Male figurines are also found in abundance at Nausharo in Baluchistan (Samzun 1992). The situation there seems to be quite different from that at Tureng Tepe, however. At Nausharo, after a period in which female figurines were much more prevalent, during the Harappan period, male figurines come to completely dominate the corpus numerically. Based on the contextual data that will be discussed below, there is little evidence for such a replacement in figural representation at Tureng Tepe.

In my opinion, the proportion of males to females in the Tureng Tepe corpus likely reflects sampling bias, due to the extremely lucky, but nevertheless significant find of a large number of figurines concentrated in a small area at this site. One important question here is whether the available sample is representative of the total sample population of figurines at Tureng Tepe. This can be easily tested. Based on different theories, we may hypothesize different ratios of males to females in the

total figurine sample population. It must be noted, however, that these ratios are only meaningful in relation to ethnographic and or textual data that could inform on the significance of such a ratio. Nevertheless, based on my hypothesis that the figurines are material philosophies of being human, we might propose that the ratio of females to males in ceramic bodies should reflect the ratio of females to males in fleshed bodies, which is normally close to 1:1. Running a Chi-Squared test on the proportion of males to females using 50:50 as the expected ratio, the test shows that at an alpha level of 95% ($X^2 = 3.841$), the ratio of males to females in the Tureng Tepe corpus falls well outside the expected range of variation in both the red ($X^2 = 11.64$) and grey ($X^2 = 12.25$). This means that we can fairly well rule out the assumption that the ratio of males to females in the total corpus is 50:50.

Now the question as to whether this finding disproves the hypothesis that figurines are material philosophies of being human, I would argue this test alone does not. We must consider the possibility that the semeiotic ideologies implicated in the creation and use of these figurines did not necessitate a correlation in representational proportion across gender between ceramic and fleshed bodies, but unfortunately, to my knowledge there are no available ethnographic or textual sources that could inform on such a conclusion. On the other hand, vis-à-vis the Goddess Thesis, in which the expected proportion of males to females would be zero males to infinite females, I believe the results of this chi-squared test undermine the case for the figural corpus at Tureng Tepe indexing the presence of a “Goddess Cult” at the site.

In any case, testing of gender ratios is likely to only be a useful exercise for examining cross-cultural patterns or specific hypothesis testing. This is due to the fact that in the absence of textual or ethnographic data allowing us to observe the specific discourses articulated about figurines, the exact ratio of male:female figurines is in and of itself meaningless, unless considered in a broader comparative context. That is not to say that study of this ratio can't produce interesting results, it is just that such a study is outside the scope of the project here.

Breakage Analysis

As proposed in Chapter 2, the main focus of this analysis will be on the location of major breakages, specifically comparing breakage along axes of structural strength versus structural weakness in order to see if there is evidence for intentional fragmentation.

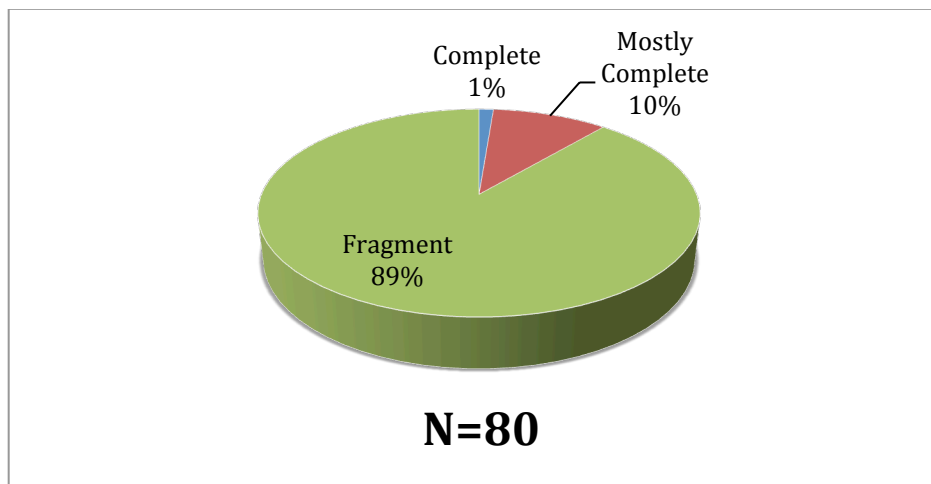
Table 5.1: Figurine Fragments Inventory

Type	Red Ladies	Red Gents	Red Unsexed	Grey Ladies	Grey Gents	Grey Unsexed	Totals
Head	3	0	1	2	0	0	6
Torso	4	1	3	4	1	0	13
Arm	2	0	5	0	0	3	10
Hip (standing)	1	0	0	2	0	3	6
Hip (sitting)	0	0	0	1	0	3	4
Hip (undef'd)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leg	2	0	10	4	0	6	22
Hand	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Foot	0	0	1	0	0	5	6
Side	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Misc. Limb	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total N	13	1	21	14	1	21	71

A look at the aggregate patterns in the morphology of the figurines shows some distinct patterns. Firstly, the figurines were overwhelmingly recovered in

fragmentary form. Unfortunately, at this time it is not possible to determine precisely what factor(s) were most salient in producing this pattern. What is certain is that the only complete figurine was also the only figurine found in a burial. The mostly complete and fragmentary pieces were all found in secondary contexts, among the domestic refuse presumably dumped into an abandoned building on the tell.

Figure 5.2: Morphological Distribution of Completeness



Several explanations could possibly account for this pattern:

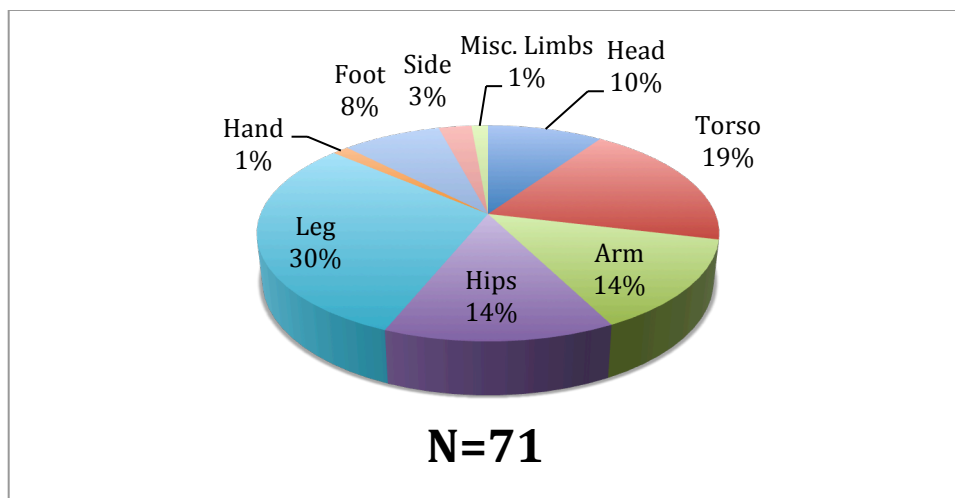
- 1) The figurines were deposited into trash dumps after having been broken, either by accident, or via intentional means. In either case, they were deposited after their use life had come to an end.
- 2) The figurines were broken as part of the depositional event, in so far as their deposition and their breakage coincided in time and space.
- 3) Post-depositional processes were responsible for this breakage pattern. They were either broken as a result of the accumulation of refuse and

sediment on top of the figurines after they were deposited, or the excavator's tools broke the figurines during their recovery.

At this juncture it is difficult to determine which of these three explanations is the more likely. Until further analyses are conducted, it will be impossible to distinguish between the first two explanations, and even then it make prove rather difficult. It may be possible to rule out the third explanation to a certain degree, as the Wulsin's field notes indicate that the figurines were recovered already broken.

(Un)fortunately, either the Wulsins or some unknown curator glued many of the figurines back together, making it difficult to examine the breakage patterns of the more complete specimens.

Figure 5.3: Morphological Distribution of Fragment Types



With regard to the first two explanations, previous studies have indicated that examining the proportion of breakages along structurally weak points versus along structurally strong areas of the figurine's body may be able to help answer these questions. Figure 5.2 shows that 64% of the figurine fragments (Legs, Hands, Feet, Misc. Limbs, Heads, and Arms) were broken along structurally weak points.

36% of the breakages were across structurally strong parts of the body (Hips, Sides, and Torsos).

Given that many of these breaks are vertical horizontal right down the middle of the figurine's bodies, it could indicate several things. First, it could indicate that the figurines were constructed in such a way that this was actually a structurally weak point. Or it could indicate that the figurines were deliberately broken in half. These two explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Of the 26 figurine pieces that had significant breakage along presumed axes of structural stability, fourteen of them were broken along a horizontal axis. These breaks generally separated the torso from other bodily elements, or ran right through the middle of the torso itself. On the other hand, only ten breaks were observed along a vertical axis, i.e. right down the middle of the figurine's trunk. The significance of this pattern is unclear; given the quality of the available data, it can only be said that it is equally as likely that this pattern is the result of post-depositional processes (i.e. taphonomy or the infamous shovel retouch) as it is a result of an intentional breakage pattern.

Contextual Analysis

The figurines were primarily recovered from Trench 2, Trench 2a, Square 2, and Square 3 of the West Mound (Mound C); exceptions include fragments recovered from back-dirt piles and various locations on the surface of the site. The vast majority of the figurines were found within 1.5 meters of each other vertically in these deposits on Mound C, but the horizontal distribution of the figurines within these excavation units is more variable. The particulars will be considered below –

first, the distribution will be analyzed level-by-level, and then in terms of clusters of figurine finds, before the analysis will be summarized.

Figurine Context by Stratigraphic Level

Level 1 (107.96 m – 106.10 m)

Level 1 extends from the surface down to a depth of 106.10 meters. This is the depth of the first significant plaster floor encountered on Mound C associated with figurines. One piece (TT322) may be associated with this floor. The other securely provenienced figurine from this level (TT325) comes from fill 30 cm above the floor. The other two figurines recovered from this level do not have secure proveniences.

Table 5.2: Level 1 Figurine Contexts

Type	N	Field Numbers (TT)
<i>Provenienced</i>	2	322, 325
<i>Unprovenienced</i>	2	328, 365
Total	4	322, 325, 328, 365

The figurines from Level 1 fall into the following categories: Grey Ladies and Grey Unsexables.

Table 5.3: Level 1 Figurine Types

Categories	N	Field Numbers (TT)
Grey Ladies	2	322, 325
Grey Gentlemen	0	--
Grey Unsexable	2	328, 365

Red Ladies	0	--
Red Gentlemen	0	--
Red Unsexable	0	--
Totals	4	322, 325, 328, 365

None of the figurines from Level 1 are definitely associated with each other.

#F322 is not associated with any artifacts or features. #F325 is possibly associated with a sherd scatter and a hearth, but the precise location of these features is debatable.

Level 2 (106.10 m – 105.20 m)

This level is defined as being below the floor at 106.10 meters that bounded the bottom of Level 1, and being above the plaster floor encountered at 105.20 meters.

Table 5.4: Level 2 Figurine Contexts

Type	Field Numbers (TT)	N
<i>Provenienced</i>	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 221a, 221b, 243, 255, 269, 301a, 301b, 322, 331, 332, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361a, 363, 364, 368, 641, 643, 644	28
<i>Unprovenienced</i>	173, 174, 329a, 329b, 329c, 330, 355, 362, 365, 366, 367, 642, 653	13
Total	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 173, 174, 221a, 221b, 243, 255, 269, 301a, 301b, 322, 329a, 329b, 329c, 330, 331, 332, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361a, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 641, 642, 643, 644, 653	41

Level 2 contains far and away the greatest number of figurines (N=41), both complete and fragmentary. Of these pieces, 69% are securely provenienced both vertically and horizontally, while only 31% lack horizontal provenience. Out of the 41 pieces from Level 2, as many as 15 of the pieces can be associated with the plaster floor at 105.20 meters. These include TT's 269, 300, 301, 329, 330, 331, 362, 363, 364, 368, 641, 642, 643, 644, and 653. Of these, TT's 269, 300, 301, 331, 364, 368, 643, and 644 have definite horizontal proveniences. Of course, it is most likely that these figurines post-date the floor, as the rest of the finds in the fill above it would suggest it was used as a trash dump after being abandoned. The rest of the figurines are distributed throughout the fill between the floors at 106.10 and 105.20 meters. Some groups of figurines are in loose association with scatters of ceramic sherds, whereas others are in definite association with hearths, sherd scatters and other features.

Table 5.5: Level 2 Figurine Types

Categories	N	Sample
Grey Ladies	6	174, 255, 269, 322, 354, 653
Grey Gentlemen	0	--
Grey Unsexable	8	173, 329a, 329b, 329c, 330, 331, 332, 355
Red Ladies	16	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 243, 301a, 301b, 358, 361a, 362, 363, 366, 368, 641, 644
Red Gentlemen	5	221a, 221b, 359, 360, 643
Red Unsexable	6	356, 357, 364, 365, 367, 642

Totals	41	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 173, 174, 221a, 221b, 243, 255, 269, 301a, 301b, 322, 329a, 329b, 329c, 330, 331, 332, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361a, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 641, 642, 643, 644, 653
---------------	----	---

Based on the data from this table it is clear that there is a pretty equal distribution of Red Gentlemen, Red Unsexables, Grey Ladies, and Grey Unsexables, but a dominance of Red Ladies. The significance of this pattern will become clear when the depositional loci of Level 2 are discussed individually. Suffice it to say for now that this level exhibits the greatest number and variety of figurine specimens from the Wulsins's excavations, including five of the six total types of figurines.

Level 3 (105.20 m – 104.70 m)

This level contains two possible clay and plaster floors. These floors are located in the northwest corner of Square 2 (between 104.90 and 104.97 meters) and the northeastern corner of Square 2 (between 105.08 and 105.13 meters). Neither of these floors appears in the profile maps the Wulsin's drew, though there are indications of their existence in the field notes, and they are clearly marked in Gursan-Salzmänn's plan maps.

Table 5.6: Level 3 Figurine Contexts

Type	Samples	N
<i>Provenienced</i>	300, 321, 323, 324, 326, 327a, 327b, 327c, 348, 361b, 361c	11
<i>Unprovenienced</i>	640, 650a-j, 651, 656, 657	14
Total	300, 321, 323, 324, 326, 327a,	25

	327b, 327c, 348, 361b, 361c, 640, 650a-j, 651, 656, 657	
--	---	--

Level 3 contains the second highest number of figurine pieces (N=25). Of these 25 pieces, 44% are provenienced and 56% are unprovenienced. There are two depositional loci present in Level 3, Locus 2 and Locus 3. These loci were determined on the basis of association with scatters of sherds and perhaps with clay and plaster floors.

Table 5.7: Level 3 Figurine Types

Categories	N	Sample
Grey Ladies	8	300, 321, 323, 324, 326, 327a, 327b, 327c,
Grey Gentlemen	1	651
Grey Unsexable	2	656, 657
Red Ladies	3	361b, 361c, 640
Red Gentlemen	1	348
Red Unsexable	10	650a-j
Totals	25	300, 321, 323, 324, 326, 327a, 327b, 327c, 348, 361b, 361c, 640, 650a-j, 651, 656, 657

As can be seen from the table all six types are represented in this level. The greatest numbers of figurines from Level 3 are Grey Ladies and Red Unsexables, whereas Red Ladies and Gentlemen, and the Grey Gentlemen and Unsexables have no more than three examples in Level 3. The most significant patterns observed in

this level are those related to Locus 2 and Locus 3, which are clusters of ceramic sherds and other refuse, among which primarily grey figurines were found in this level. The majority of the red figurines in this level, including both the sexable and Unsexable examples all came from near the section wall between Square 2 and Square 3. Unfortunately, the floors indicated in Gürsan-Salzmänn's plan maps cannot be located either in her own section drawings, Wulsin's field notes, or his profile maps. Nevertheless, it is certain that these finds come from below a major clay and plaster floor located at 105.10-105.20 meters, and above the intensive burial events below.

Level 4 (104.70 m – 104.00 m)

Level 4 is the lowest level that contains figurines. It extends from the bottom of Level 3 to the top of the highest elevation of Test 6 at approximately 104 meters. As indicated on Gürsan-Salzmänn's plan maps, there are a number of features in this level, including areas of dense clay soil, deposits of ash, lenses of bricks, several burials and two or three potsherd scatters. Only two provenienced figurines were found in this level. The first, is the famous Grey Lady (TT648), which was found resting against the upper thigh of Burial 52 – no other figurines were found in burials during the Wulsins's excavations. The second is a tiny grey foot that bears no sexable information; Wulsin believed that it is also possible that this foot belongs to a pot, rather than a figurine, but the basis for this assertion is unclear, as no footed pots are recorded in his notes or in the object catalog.

Table 5.8: Level 4 Figurine Contexts

Type	Sample	N
<i>Provenienced</i>	369, 648	2
<i>Unprovenienced</i>	370, 650k-u, 655, 658	14
Total	369, 370, 648, 650k-u, 655, 658	16

In Level 4, three types were found: (1) Grey Lady, (2) Grey Unsexable, and (3) Red Unsexable. Red Unsexable dominate, as a number of limb fragments were found in the vicinity of Locus 1, i.e. along the western section of Square 2 about halfway across the block. As mentioned above the solitary Grey Lady is the most complete figurine from the site. The Grey Unsexables are composed of a foot, a hand with fingers and two seated hips.

Table 5.9: Level 4 Figurine Types

Categories	N	Sample
Grey Ladies	1	648
Grey Gentlemen	0	--
Grey Unsexable	4	369, 370, 655, 658
Red Ladies	0	--
Red Gentlemen	0	--
Red Unsexable	11	650k-u
Totals	16	369, 370, 648, 650k-u, 655, 658

The two most significant patterns from Level 4 are the continuation of the (not entirely strict) separation of red and grey finds. As we have seen in all four levels, the Red and Grey types are never clustered together in a deposit. They may be found within a meter or so of each other, but never seem to have been deposited together, as can be seen in the typological composition of Locus 1 and 2. The other pattern is really a singularity, in that for the first time, in Level 4, we find a figurine in a burial – and curiously, it is the single most detailed figurine from the entire corpus that has made it down intact to the present day.

Analysis of the Find Clusters

- *Locus 1*

Table 5.10: Locus 1 Distribution

Categories	Complete	Sample	Fragments	Sample
Grey Ladies	0	--	0	--
Grey Gentlemen	0	--	0	--
Grey Unsexable	0	--	0	--
Red Ladies	6	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 361	3	358, 368, 641,
Red Gentlemen	0	--	5	221a, 221b, 359, 360, 643

Red Unsexable	0	--	2	357, 364
Totals	6	023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 361	10	221a, 221b, 357, 358, 359, 360, 364, 368, 641, 643

This table shows that Locus 1 contained no grey figurines at all. The vast majority of these figurines are found either in the fill between a lens of ash, charcoal and brick and a floor 105.40 meters, or above the floor at 105.40 meters.

Unfortunately, as has been mentioned, it is difficult to determine the exact stratigraphic location of any features. While we can't rule out the possibility that these figurines were recovered from a pit dug through these floors at a later date, or that they were left on the house floors when the structures were abandoned, it seems most likely that they came from domestic refuse dumped in the structure between occupations. Despite this, it is extremely curious that so many figurines would be deposited so close to each other, especially given that they are all red figurines of the standing Bronze Age type (i.e. Wulsin's Ladies and Gentlemen), and in comparison with the distribution of figurine finds across the rest of the excavation block.

Within Locus 1, there seem to be several sub-loci or clusters present. The first is the group of the original Red Ladies (TT023-027), which is located just to the south-southeast of the cluster of figurines that were found on the Square 3 side of the section wall in October at more or less the same elevation (TT364, 368, 641,

643). The main cluster is located about a meter north of these two clusters, and is comprised of the rest of the securely provenienced pieces, including TT221, 357, 358, 359, 360, and 361. In between all of these pieces with horizontal and vertical locations are strewn more than 20 small limb fragments and other pieces without any location more precise than those given in the field-notes, i.e. along the western section of Square 2 between H and K.

This locus, if accompanied by clear stratigraphic information and more detailed notes about its recovery and association with features would be able to provide us with a treasure trove of information regarding the significance these figurines had in the lives of the prehistoric occupants of Tureng Tepe. As it stands, however, the available data only permits recognition of the fact that these figurines were all found within 3 meters of each other horizontally and 40 centimeters of each other vertically. As best as can be told, these figurines are loosely associated with two superimposed floor levels based on their recovery from the fill in between the floors and above the floor higher in elevation. Sadly, neither Wulsin's field notes nor his maps are not of much help in determining whether these finds were all the result of a single depositional event.

- *Locus 2*

Table 5.11: Locus 2 Distribution

Categories	Complete	Sample	Fragments	Sample
Grey Ladies	0	--	3	255, 300, 321
Grey Gentlemen	0	--	0	--
Grey Unsexable	0	--	4	327a, 327b, 327c, 332

Red Ladies	0	--	0	--
Red Gentlemen	0	--	0	--
Red Unsexable	0	--	0	--
Totals	0	--	7	255, 300, 321, 327a, 327b, 327c, 332

Locus 2 is in some ways the opposite of Locus 1. In this Locus, we find no red figurines. These figurines are also slightly more securely associated with a clay and plaster floor at 105.20 meters. Overlaying this floor are a number of large sherd scatters, a millstone, several intact pots (or the smashed remains of whole pots), a hearth, loose stones, and what Wulsin called a 'Kitchen Mess'. This area seems to have more items in situ, but it still is difficult to determine the sequence of events here, as Wulsin's profile maps don't elaborate too much detail on this area. Based on Gürsan-Salzman's plan and section drawings, it seems as though the thermal feature is not directly associated with the clay and plaster floor at 105.20 meters, but it is difficult to say for sure.

In any case, it can be said of Locus 2 that the figurines are all: (1) Grey figurines of the Female and Unsexable variety, (2) loosely associated with a clay and plaster floor at 105.20 meters, (3) found near, but not necessarily associated with, a large number of potsherds, broken and intact whole pots, a millstone, loose stones, a hearth and a 'kitchen mess'. While it is impossible to discern any domestic architecture based on Wulsin's notes or maps, this area would appear to be one in which household activities were certainly going on.

- *Locus 3*

Table 5.12: Locus 3 Distribution

Categories	Complete	Sample	Fragments	Sample
Grey Ladies	0	--	4	269, 323, 324, 326,
Grey Gentlemen	0	--	0	--
Grey Unidentif.	0	--	0	--
Red Ladies	0	--	0	
Red Gentlemen	0	--	0	--
Red Unidentif.	0	--	0	--
Totals	0	--	4	269, 323, 324, 326

This table shows that Locus 3 is composed singularly of Grey Ladies. They were found three to five meters to the west of Locus 2, and also associated with a potsherd scatter and loose stones. Gürsan-Salzmänn's plan maps seem to indicate that Locus 3 might be indicated with a floor at 104.90 meters, but this floor does not appear on her section drawings, nor on Wulsin's profile maps.

Discussion

The contextual analysis, while perhaps the most important of the ones considered here, returned only the broadest and general results. This was possible because Wulsin did fortunately draw a few detailed plan maps, and published a usable profile map in his 1932 report. Unfortunately, on the other hand, he only used a grid system and elevations to systematically piece-plot finds during the October season, and he doesn't seem to have paid any great deal of attention to

plotting the exact location of features such as pits, floors, architecture, or hearths. The general location of such features is indicated, but especially in terms of the floors, I have had to rely on Ayşe Gürsan-Salzmänn's maps, which are based on the same field-notes from which I was working. Comparing her maps with Wulsin's field notes, it can be said that while the some of the features she has plotted on the maps are in their correct locations (i.e. hearths and potsherd scatters), it is exceedingly difficult to determine where she got her information for the plotting of many of the floors and the areas of clayey soil and ash. For these reasons, it is difficult to directly associate figurine finds with any particular features. Despite this, there is still some usable data that can help us answer questions about the figurines.

First, the largest cluster of figurines come from a 3x2 meter area about 40 cm deep along the western section of Square 2. The next largest concentration is a much looser scatter of figurines from what appears to be an in situ domestic deposit in the northeastern corner of Square 2. The last cluster of figurines is associated with a scatter of potsherds located just to the west of the scatter in the northeast corner. All of the remaining figurine finds were dispersed randomly throughout the fill of the rest of the trench, with the exception of one example, which was found in a burial.

Therefore, the figurines appear to have mostly come from deposits laid down in between or following occupation events. As we cannot exactly determine just which features the figurines are associated with, but only general information about their find-spots, it is difficult to discern more specific details about whether these find-spots are in situ, domestic refuse left behind when the structure was

abandoned or whether they constitute a trash dump used by people living on other parts of the site. What we can say for certain, however, is that with the exception of Locus 1, it doesn't appear that figurines were deposited in any special way that distinguishes them from other elements of material culture. That is to say that, wherever it was appropriate to cast off or leave behind pots, broken bone and stone tools, grinding stones, and other domestic refuse, it was also appropriate to do the same with figurines.

There are only two exceptions, one more certain than the other. First, the famous Grey Lady (TT648) was found in a burial of an adult of uncertain sex, though this seems to be an idiosyncrasy rather than a pattern, as the other examples of this type were found without any direct association with other features. The second, Locus 1, seems to be composed of one, two or three possible depositional events, all either between two floors at 105.20 and 105.40 meters or just above that floor at 105.40 meters. Curiously, all of the figurines in Locus 1 are of the Red type, but the significance of this cannot be determined due to the lack of good contextual information. The plan maps, field notes, and object cards do not indicate that these figurines were found alongside any other artifacts. But they also do not indicate whether the artifacts were placed in a pit by the people who deposited them there, or any other information that might help answer this question. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn about the nature of this deposit other than that it was a large concentration of Red figurines of both Male, Female, and Unsexable types found in loose association with two floors, about which very little is known.

Whether such a clustering is observed at other sites, however, is an interesting question, that could help shed light on the significance of this pattern.

Unfortunately, the contextual information was only sufficient to demonstrate that the figurines were generally not subjected to special treatment in deposition, other than that when they are clustered, they tend to be clustered by color, i.e. red figurines are clustered with red and grey figurines are clustered with grey.

As far as gendered distribution is concerned, there do not seem to be any particular patterns, with one exception. Most of the time, figurines of all genders are scattered or clustered together, but in the case of TT023 through TT027 (the first Red Ladies to be found), they were all found together, with no males or any other figurines. Granted, they were found in near proximity to a number of other figurines, both male and female, but these ones seem to be closely associated with each other. Across the rest of the site there seems to be no special depositional pattern that can be observed based on the gender of the figurines.

Nevertheless, so little quality information is available that it is impossible to even discern whether the figurines were found from the remains of structures, outside working areas, pits, middens or caches. This hampers our ability to draw any specific conclusions about the figurines's use spheres and deposition other than that in deposition, they were treated much the same as the other artifacts found in the block such as potsherds, chipped and ground stone tools, bone tools and bits of metal. Therefore, in the absence of precise contextual data, we must look to the figurines from other sites with better information in order to begin to work out the significance of these figurines.

Comparanda

Focused attention to the particulars of the corpus from Tureng Tepe is invaluable in moving toward answering the question of the meaning of the figurines. This data alone cannot, however, bring a full understanding of the significance of these artifacts. In order to move in this direction, it is necessary to engage with the figurine assemblages from other sites in the region. Despite great distances, and in some cases, chronological disparities, there are many points of comparison between the figurines from Tureng Tepe and those of other sites in the ancient Near East. These distances in time and space do greatly complicate comparative analysis, however, as the basis of comparison must be established and diffusionist pitfalls lurk around every corner.

Regardless, it is well established that during the Bronze Age there was interaction and trade in the lands east of Mesopotamia, though the scale and frequency of this interaction is a matter of scholarly debate. What is certain, however, is that trade has been documented through analysis of the distribution of a number of different raw and finished materials such as lapis lazuli, steatite, chlorite vessels, seals, luxury goods, and forms of monumental architecture (cf. Caldwell 1964; Tosi 1974; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1979, Dales 1977, Kohl 1978, Tosi 1979, Frank 1993, Ratnagar 2001). Based on the data from a number of sites in the region, it is becoming increasingly clear that figurines are affected by these interactions as well.

While further work is necessary to flesh out the details, scholars have long noted that there are many parallels in figurines across this vast region (Ackerman 1938, Antonova 1979, Masson & Sarianidi 1973). This data may provide a useful

proxy for discerning cultural, economic, or religio-political¹² interaction between these sites. Indeed, as Ackerman argued, “a detailed examination of the figurines ought to contribute to a further definition of this relation [between Elam, the Indus and Central Asia]. The position in this complex of interrelations of Baluchistan, on the one hand, and such Central Asiatic centres as Anau¹³, on the other has not been quite clear. Possibly a more careful consideration of the figurines will help in deciding these problems. If, however, the study is to contribute to these various aspects of the cultural history of the most ancient East, the figurines must be analyzed in considerable detail, for the obvious general similarity, especially of the fictile female figurines, throughout this whole area, renders insignificant any but the most specific parallels. Only poses, attributes, or stylistic conventions that are definitely found in some groups and not in others can be taken as evidence of a relation” (Ackerman 1938:196).

Unfortunately a systematic cross-cultural study of Ancient Near Eastern figurines is well beyond the scope of this thesis. I do believe, however, that such a study would be a fruitful investigation into the construction of social identities and the materiality of the body at the macro-scale. Such a study is only possible, however, if we follow Ackerman’s directive to compare specific poses, attributes and stylistic conventions, because without specific parallels that can be cited as the basis for a relationship there really is no basis of comparison. In particular, a future study

¹² For brevity’s sake, from here on in this will be termed ‘social interaction’.

¹³ Note that today we know that Anau is not as important during the period from which the Tureng Tepe figurines came. The point about Central Asian centers still stands, however, just with the realization that in the Bronze Age Altyn-depe, Kara-depe, and Namazga-depe were much larger and more prominent than Anau (C. Thornton, pers. comm. 2012).

should address a number of features: (1) headdresses, particularly those with four-petalled flowers, (2) eyes, (3) holes for attachments on the head or ears, (4) necklaces, (5) applique breasts with nipples, (6) position of the arms, (7) presence/absence of hands, (8) markings on the stomach, (9) presence of pubic triangle, (10) overall posture (i.e. seated or standing), (11) presence of separate legs, (12) presence of feet, (13) ability to stand freely, and (14) hand modeled versus mold made.

Figure 5.4: Map of the Study Area (Kohl 2007:3)



While a detailed study is not feasible at this juncture, preliminary analysis of comparanda has led to two significant results, however: (1) Certain figurines from Tureng Tepe, especially the stone pendants and pieces from the Astarabad treasure,

have distinct parallels with the figurines from nearby sites such as Shah Tepe, Gohar Tappeh and Tepe Hissār, and (2) The Red and Grey Ladies and Gentlemen display looser, but no less distinct connections with sites further distant (in both space and in some cases time) such as Mārlik, Namazga-depe, Altyn-depe, Mehrgarh, Nausharo, and Harappa.

Some of these similarities in category (1) are so close that it begs the question of whether or not they were imports from one site to the other. Either way, given that these anthropomorphic images are not found at other nearby sites, it suggests a local social network existing between these sites, which must have been trading and interacting on a micro-regional level. The similarities between figurines in category (2) are more difficult to explain. As will be discussed in the next section, establishing the existence of trade and exchange networks over larger space and time scales presents many methodological and epistemological issues. Nevertheless, some of the traits that appear in multiple regions at the same time, or different variations of the same attributes, can't be due to random chance.

In each of these regions, there is an indigenous tradition of figurine-making from the Neolithic onward. These traditions have broad and very general similarities, even with Neolithic figurines from the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, and even Mesoamerica, suggesting that their design and execution is primarily a factor of technological processes and the properties of the materials used to make them. By the Early to Middle Bronze Age in the regions under consideration here, however, there are certain stylistic and morphological attributes that appear in concert. In each case, the decorative embellishments that are held in common are

materialized according to the aesthetic habitus in place in that society, but certainly are formed based on a similar conception of how the human body (be it of flesh or clay) should be ornamented. The theoretical and methodological implications of these results for future research will be discussed in more detail below.

Results and Implications

The results of the study thus far have indicated the following: (1) Within the collection from Tureng Tepe, nine different types of figurines including the Red and Grey Ladies and Gentlemen, seated figurine fragments and anthropomorphic stone pendants have been identified; (2) Within the types of clay figurines, the specimens are fairly homogenous, but not enough so to have been mass-produced; (3) The clay figurines are hand- rather than mold-made; (4) Many of the figurines bear both applique and incised decorations; (5) The Red and Grey Ladies and Gentlemen all display clearly marked secondary sexual features such as breasts on the females, pubic triangles on both sexes, and penises and testes on the male specimens; (6) All of the figurines were found within an approximately 10x10x4 meter space in a trench that revealed two significant sequences of burial events, a number of superimposed floors and hearth features, and associated domestic refuse such as broken pots, bone, stone, and metal tools among other small finds; (7) Only one figurine was recovered from a burial; (8) A large percentage of the Red Ladies and Gentlemen were found together in what appears to be a single depositional event, and despite being unable to definitively determine this fact based on the unreliability of the Wulsins's field notes, it nevertheless seems appropriate to consider this this group of complete figurines and fragments as a unit, as they were

all found in an approximately 5x5m area horizontally within 40 cm of each other vertically; (9) We are dealing with a remarkable collection of artifacts that is unparalleled in its time and place; (10) While the figurines are indeed distinctive within the regional corpus, they are part of a broader genre of figurine-making with probable connections to Central Asia and possible connections to Anatolia, Syria, Elam, Sumeria, Baluchistan, and the Indus;

These results help us to answer some of the questions posed in the literature and to begin to sketch out directions for future research on this corpus and other figural assemblages in the region.

As a refresher, some of the major questions that scholars have asked are “what do figurines mean” and “in what ways were figurines used”. Some of the more specific questions that I have dealt with are “are figurines ritual objects or not” and its corollary “are figurines representations of (the/a) goddess?”. As per the particulars of the Tureng collection, I have also been interested in the question of gender and sex, specifically “can gender/sex be identified” and “what is the significance of sexed or gendered representation”. Additionally, there is the question of whether figurines were broken intentionally or not, and whether there is a spatial patterning to their deposition. Considering these questions has led to me to follow Bailey, Lesure, Meskell and others in recasting the fundamental questions of figurines to be “how” questions, rather than “what questions”.

To deal with the first question that came up in the literature, vis-à-vis figurines as statuary or votives in a Mother Goddess cult, the data are unequivocal in what it shows us. Based on the assumptions authors made in the past, we can

deduce that there are three primary criteria that can be used to evaluate whether figurines are representations of the “Mother Goddess” or not: (1) figurines being recovered from “special/ritual” contexts, (2) figurines displaying obvious symbols of fertility or motherhood, and (3) the presence of only female figurines¹⁴ (cf. Tringham & Conkey 1998; Talalay 1993, 1994; Ucko 1996; Lesure 2002). Based on the data presented above, the “Goddess Thesis”, when operationalized in this manner, fails on all three counts. Now, despite the Goddess Thesis not being terribly well supported by the evidence, it cannot be argued one way or the other whether the figurines were of an ultimately sacred or profane nature based on these criterion, but at the very least, we can rule out the interpretation of them as evidence of an overarching Mother Goddess cult at Tureng Tepe. This does not take away from the possibility that at some point during their social lives, the figurines could have themselves been or could have depicted images of various mythical or religious beings, but it is unlikely that this was the sole state of being for the figurines across the duration of their social lives.

Regarding the questions of sex/gender, this corpus is still perplexing in many ways. Previous scholars interested in exploring gender/sex through figurines have primarily concerned themselves with the ontological question of whether or not we can actually identify male/female/other gendered/sexed bodies through terracotta figurines. On the evidence from Tureng Tepe, I would say that we definitely are able. There are a number of clearly marked secondary sexual features, and three diagnostic poses that may be used to distinguish between male and female. There is

¹⁴ These criteria are derived from my reading into the assumptions about figurines that critical scholars have made when analyzing Goddess narratives.

currently no evidence for a third gender or ambiguously gendered figurines, although the possibility of multiple interpretations should not be ruled out (cf. Hamilton 2000, Mina 2007). Without text, and with the limited figural data available, we simply cannot posit the existence of anything other than the two genders/sexes that I have documented in this corpus.

There are still some significant findings, however, for instance, the ratio of females to males is quite skewed in favor of the females. In all reality, this is probably due to sampling bias, but when you begin to look at figurines cross-culturally and in light of ethnographic analogies, this ratio could have some significance. Nonetheless, it is interesting that in the Red figurines, the males and females are morphologically similar and only really differentiated by the presence/absence of sexual features like beards, breasts, and penises. The Grey figurines on the other hand, we know much less about, other than that there seems to be more variation in how females could be depicted; unfortunately, we only have one example of a male Grey figurine, and no solid conclusions can be drawn on such a small sample. In either case, it is an interesting and significant feature of this corpus that gender and sex is marked so clearly.

Looking at gender and sex has proven to be a productive avenue for generating further hypotheses about the potential social significance of these figurines. Given that we have ruled out the Goddess interpretation, and for the most part sidestepped functionalism in avoiding the questions of what figurines were used for and what their function might have been, there is a need for an alternative explanation of how they participated in materio-social life. This is why the

gendered/sexed marking of these figurines and their other stylistic/morphological attributes are so important. These attributes give us a window into the semeiotic ideologies of the body of people at Tureng Tepe that we would never be able to otherwise access due to the lack of text and other anthropomorphic representations at the site.

As discussed in Chapter 2, semeiotic ideologies are different ways that people consider signs to be meaningful, and how they function in the world. In considering figurines, a sign may be the total figurine itself as an individual, a particular feature of the figurine, bundles of features, or an entire class/style/type of figurines could be a sign. To use an example from Tureng Tepe, a distinctive sign that we see are repeated features across the classes on the face, in terms of incised eyes, sharp beak noses, and no mouths. What sort of message would depicting the human body made permanent in clay have sent to people by depicting facial features in such a consistent way across individuals and types? What is the significance of the fact that across the types, and across gender, we see decorations on the stomach, such as the vertical stippling and belly buttons? And of the pubic triangles, regardless of whether they bear penises/testes?

I believe that what we are seeing is the materialization of particular semeiotic ideologies of the body. While we may never be able to reconstruct the actual narratives and discourses surrounding these figurines, we can still observe patterns in how different signs are realized in the world across type, space, and time. For example, a ceramic body indexes (or refers to the ontological presence of) a fleshed body, and forces the interpreter to draw a connection between the two.

Such a semeiotic ideology could work indexically as part of people's formation of their conception of the self, and of identity broadly defined, be it a gendered identity, a class identity (if we can even speak of such things at this point in prehistory), or any other formulation of a social identity.

The figurine makers, in portraying these bundles of features on clay objects that are so clearly human, sent a powerful message to the people who would have handled and viewed these objects about what the human body should look like. This was achieved through the making permanent of these signs by firing the clay, which made it unchangeable and naturalistic, as though it were meant to be that way for all time. But this is just one example, and I am sure many other dimensions of signification could be examined.

Such an interpretation of the social significance of the figurines does not rule out the possibility of their having been used as toys, as voodoo dolls, teaching aids, participants in various rituals or what have you. Indeed, the meanings and uses of these objects could have been multiple over the course of the 'social life' span of the figurines. As Keane argues, semeiotic ideologies are unstable and subject to subversion. People do not go about with a rulebook for interpreting signs in their heads, but rather come to an understanding of the world through their engagement with it, both materially and immaterially. By their very nature as a concrete sign that indexes (or refers to by association) the human body made permanent, I believe that these figurines were tied up in a process of people's negotiation of their conceptions of their own bodies as individuals, their conceptions of their bodies as they fit into society, and of different forms of identity broadly defined.

This is an especially interesting hypothesis when you consider the macro-social context of Tureng Tepe in the Middle to Late Bronze Age. At this time, the Ancient Near East was becoming more connected through trade, and other forms of interaction. While the evidence for all this is patchy at best, it is certain that people from Mesopotamia were not mining lapis lazuli from anywhere nearby, and just as the people at Tureng Tepe were not just randomly deciding to make gold vessels in a distinctly exotic style (as in the Astarabad Treasure). There were definitely contacts between people of this micro-region with people from other regions within this trade network, despite the lack of precise understandings of these contacts (cf. Kohl 2007).

I would argue that in looking at figurines, a number of hypotheses could be made: for instance, perhaps as people came into increasing contact with neighboring regions through trade, their conceptions of their own bodies came to exist within a whole new realm of differences. Whereas previously their bodily identities operated on local and specific axes of difference, as time went on it was possible to embody and objectify many more sets of difference – both local and inter- regional. Or perhaps they came to adopt similar conceptions of identity as people from other regions and this was materialized in figurines.

It must be highlighted that there is no doubt that it is difficult on the basis of figurines alone to establish definitive cultural interaction between sites so distant from each other. I would like to propose a direction for future research here, however, and think through a model that might allow us to begin to approach the question of the significance of inter-regional connections visible through figurines. I

would propose that if we take into consideration Frachetti's model of non-uniform institutional complexity (Frachetti 2012), we may begin to sketch out the contours of a common figurine-making genre that encompassed much of the Near East and its surrounding areas during the Bronze Age. Frachetti's model predicts that societies can relate to each other in a myriad of different ways, without necessarily having to share all of the same institutions. For example, two societies might share a similar or even identical social organization or mode of economic production, but have an entirely different set of religious institutions, or vice-versa.

An institution may be defined as "a custom, practice, relationship, or behavioral pattern of importance in the life of a community or society" (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 2000). Based on this definition, I would assert that as a set of practices and behaviors, figurine making and use constitutes an institution. In terms of figurines as an institution, using Frachetti's model of non-uniform institutional complexity, it can be postulated that there was a common figurine-making and figurine-using institution in the Ancient Near East, albeit one that manifested itself along local trajectories of aesthetics and the materiality of social life.

While I cannot begin to systematically evaluate that postulation on such a broad scale of analysis in this paper, I do argue that it is clear that there are definite connections (be they religious, economic, social, ethnolinguistic or otherwise) between these regions that are visible via a comparison of their anthropomorphic figural assemblages. By this, I do not intend to suggest that Bronze Age people were in regular direct contact with each other over such vast distances. Rather, I propose

that these figurines index participation in a common network of interaction across this vast region. That is to say that the flow of raw materials and ideas that brought lapis lazuli from Afghanistan to Mesopotamia and Egypt and spurred the construction of ziggurat-like structures in Turkmenistan, and the appearance of carved soft stone vessels everywhere in between also affected the indigenous figurine-making traditions of these regions (cf. Caldwell 1964, Kohl 1978, Masson 1981). No one suite of traits was adopted by all peoples across this network at any given time, but the repeated appearance particular attributes and combination of attributes must be explained in terms that don't fall back on diffusionism.

Based on the patterns that emerge from this analysis, it is clear that Tureng Tepe is a site of special importance in its immediate region, as the terracotta figurines recovered from it are unparalleled at any other nearby site. There are many similarities between Shah Tepe, Tepe Hissār, and Gohar Tappeh in terms of the stone figurines, but the baked clay figurines from Tureng Tepe find their parallels with sites further away, in Turkmenistan and the Indus (cf. Masson & Sarianidi 1973, Antonova 1979, contra Ackerman 1938). It is also possible that there are parallels between the Tureng Tepe terracottas and the figurines of Elam, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia, but an examination of these connections is perhaps best the subject of another paper.

Indeed, the lack (or miniscule quantity) of elaborate baked clay figurines at sites in Tureng Tepe's vicinity such as Shah Tepe, Yarim Tepe, and Gohar Tappeh, suggest that Tureng Tepe's participation in the broader social network was perhaps of a different nature than the other sites. Taken together with the fact that it is the

only site in the Gorgān with monumental architecture¹⁵, it would seem that Tureng Tepe may have been a regional center of some kind. The absence of sealings or administrative tablets and the lack of craft workshops or hoards of materials throw doubt on such an assessment. Nevertheless, when we take into consideration also that the famed “Astarabad Treasure” came from Tureng Tepe, it is clear that at the very least, more inter-regional trade and interaction is occurring at Tureng Tepe or by its residents than at all other excavated sites in the Gorgān.

While it is a stretch to assume that there was direct and constant contact between peoples from regions as far apart as Turkmenistan and Mesopotamia, there are a number of parallels in monumental architecture, in iconography, and now in figurines, that beg to be explained (cf. Kohl 1978, Sarianidi 1994, 2008, Pollock 1999, Rothman 2001, Stein 1999) Could Tureng Tepe have also been connected to this network of material ideas, however loosely organized it might have been? Only further investigation at the site-specific and regional level will be able to shed light on this question. What is known for certain, however, is that the assemblage of figurines at Tureng Tepe has both local and long-distance parallels, which could be indicative of social patterning that might perhaps crosscut different kinds of material evidence at various levels of analysis (Ackerman 1938, Dales 1960, Masson & Sarianidi 1973, Antonova 1979). In any case, interpreting these figurines in their regional context raises many fascinating questions to be addressed in future research.

¹⁵ J. Deshayes documented a stepped terrace in his work at Tureng Tepe that he argued dated to the Bronze Age (cf. Deshayes 1975, 1977).

To briefly summarize, the contours of the actual empirically documentable elements of the Tureng Tepe corpus are now known. They have been typologized, their gender marking, breakage and contextual features have been analyzed. This information has allowed me to connect these figurines to the literature on figurine studies and speak to some of the major questions scholars have asked over the years as they engaged with these often enigmatic items of material culture. We can say for sure that they are not Goddesses, but as regards many of the other questions, in many ways, the jury is still out. We know now about the distribution of their gender/sex, but the significance of this is yet unclear. The contextual information was so piecemeal as to prohibit a truly comprehensive analysis. Preliminary breakage analysis also produced ambiguous results, which need to be the subject of further testing. I concluded by considering the regional significance of these figurines and attempted to sketch out directions for future research on this topic.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The study of figurines is as old as archaeology itself. This thesis represents a small addition to the massive body of work that has been accomplished by archaeologists, art historians, and interested laypeople over the years. In my view, the primary contribution of this thesis is the empirical description and typology developed out of the Tureng Tepe figural corpus, the full details of which are available in Chapter 4. This collection of anthropomorphic figurines has long been recognized as not only significant in the archaeology of Iran, but also the archaeology of the entire Near East.

In this thesis I sought to engage with the larger body of figurine literature in order to help contextualize these figurines and in so doing to be able to better apprehend their significance. My engagement with the literature led down several paths. First of all, there was the question of how to evaluate the hypotheses made by scholars who had previously worked with this material. Wulsin and Ackerman were certain beyond a shadow of a doubt that these figurines were religious in nature. They differed insofar as Wulsin believed them to be representations of the Mother Goddess, and Ackerman believed they were votives to specific deities similar to those found in Syro-Anatolian and Mesopotamian cults. I do not have the textual expertise to evaluate Ackerman's hypothesis, so I decided to address the Mother Goddess Thesis.

In extremely reductionist terms, the Mother Goddess Thesis as posited by Gimbutas and Hawkes argues that in prehistory, the societies of the Aegean and the Balkans were matriarchal, and that the people participated in a monolithic form of

religiosity that was based around the worship of a fertility goddess, or the Earth Mother. Other scholars have uncritically extended this thesis to various geographic realms and time periods. My interest, due to Wulsin having deployed this hypothesis, was to test its viability for explaining the Tureng Tepe figurines. What I found was that when you break it down to its component parts based on the areas of criticism Hawkes and Gimbutas have most often received from archaeologists, the Mother Goddess thesis can only be tied to empirical reality on three counts. One could conclude that figurines are evidence of a Mother Goddess Cult if and only if the following three conditions are met by the data: 1) Figurines are found exclusively in special contexts, such as ritual deposits or left *in situ* in shrines; 2) Figurines depict signs of fertility and/or motherhood; and 3) Figurines are exclusively female. Based on the data from Tureng Tepe, the Mother Goddess thesis fails on all three counts. This does not rule out the possibility, however, that the figurines index a pantheon of particular deities, or that perhaps that the Goddess theory could be reformulated to not be so monolithic, but rather as a complex and dynamic institution, of which figurines were a small part, but this is outside the scope of this paper, and indeed, would require a familiarity with Mesopotamian texts that I do not currently possess.

Moving from the “Goddess Thesis” toward the way anthropological archaeologists have studied figurines, it was necessary to engage in a gender analysis and a contextual analysis of the figurines. These analyses produced the results that the figurines from Tureng Tepe are mostly Unsexable, but of the ones that can be sexed, the ratio of females to males is approximately 5:1. The significance of this ratio is still unclear, but what is certain is that figurines were

clearly marked for sexual features and some of these features seem to cross cut figurine type, suggesting that the different types may be variations on the same theme executed in one of a few circumscribed macro-stylistic conventions. As far as the spatio-temporal patterning of the data as it relates to gender, much less is knowable due to the limitations of the data.

The contextual analysis was made possible by the plan maps drawn by Ayşe Daher Gürsan-Salzmänn. Despite her hard work in reconstructing the Wulsins's excavations, so little data was recorded about strata, deposits, and features that a full reconstruction of the figurines's contexts may be impossible without engaging with Deshayes's field notes and maps. Nevertheless, what we can say is that the figurines came from trash deposits that were sandwiched in between the floor levels of an occupational sequence. Whether a pit was dug into the floors and the figurines were intentionally deposited in the manner that they were found, or they were thrown there as part of regular trash-dumping behavior, we may never be able to tell due to the lack of recording precision by the Wulsins.

Another way that I thought might be able to shed light on how figurines were meaningful in the past was to analyze the breakage patterns. If depositional context couldn't tell us much about the way the figurines might have been significant, perhaps the ways that they met their ends could. What we can say in the end is that the picture remains extremely ambiguous, because there seems to be no pattern of intentional breakage. Answering these questions will require more sophisticated analytical techniques and a hands-on approach to the data itself, rather than a distant contemplation of specimens that were handled months previously and close-

up examination of old (and new) archival photographs. Such analyses will also be able to help answer the question of how the figurines were made, and whether they were modified over their use-life as well.

Despite the fact that I was not able to carry out a full *chaine opératoire* of the figurines, I believe that we can begin to theorize about some of the ways that these figurines may have participated in social life at Tureng Tepe. Through use of the concept of semeiotic ideologies, I explored how figurines become enmeshed in a chain of signification that can directly impinge upon peoples' perceptions of themselves, their bodies, and their identities through the indexicality that these figurines embody. Investigating the particular material discourses and semeiotic ideologies that constitute the Politics of (Figural) Representation at different sites could prove to be a fruitful arena for cross-cultural research into Ancient Near Eastern Figurines, provided that future scholars are careful to follow Ackerman's dictum to only use *specific* parallels in attributes, stylistic motifs, poses, and other morphological features (to which I would add context, surface treatment, and breakage).

The empirical analyses that I conducted on the Tureng Tepe figurines were valuable in that they made known the exact physical parameters of this dataset and its full variability. The theoretical questions I have raised open new doors into the archaeological investigation of the body and social identities such as gender in Iranian archaeology. Even if some of the fundamental questions posed couldn't be answered in a fully satisfactory way, it is my hope that I have at least provided a glimpse into what future directions for research into this topics might look like.

Bibliography

- Ackerman, P. 1938. "Cult Figurines". In *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present vol. I*, A. Pope, P. Ackerman, (eds.). (Tehran: Soroush Press).
- The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.
- Arne, T.J. 1945. *Excavations at Shah Tepe, Iran*. (Stockholm: The Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication 27, VII. Archaeology 5).
- Bailey, D.W. 1996. The Interpretation of Figurines: the Emergence of Illusion and New Ways of Seeing. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6(2):291-295.
- Bailey, D.W. 2005. *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*. New York: Routledge.
- Berezkin, Yu.E. 1981. Zhenskije terrakotovye statuetki s Altyndepe (Female Terracotta Statuettes of Altyn Depe). *Kratkie Soobshcheniya* (Brief Communications): 167:16-23.
- Biehl, Peter F. 1996. Symbolic Communication Systems: Symbols of anthropomorphic figurines of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic from south-eastern Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 4: 153-176.
- Boivin, N. 2008. *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolger, D. 1996. Fertility, and the Emergence of Complex Society in Prehistoric Cyprus. *Current Anthropology* 37(2): 365-373.
- Broman, V.L. 1958. *Jarmo Figurines*. Unpublished Master's Thesis: Radecliffe College, Cambridge.
- Caldwell, J. 1964. "Interaction Spheres in Prehistory". In *Hopewellian Studies*, ed. J. Caldwell and R. Hall. Pp. 133-143. Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers 12(6). (Springfield: Illinois State Museum).
- Cauvin, J. 2000. "The Symbolic Foundations of the Neolithic Revolution in the Near East". In *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities: Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*. Ian Kuijt, ed. Pp. 235-252. (New York: Kluwer Academic).
- Chapman, J. 1998. "Objectification, embodiment and the value of places and things". In *The Archaeology of Value – Essays on prestige and the processes of valuation*, Douglass Bailey (ed). Pp. 106- 130. (Oxford: BAR International).

- Clark, S.R. 2007. "Bodies of Evidence: the Case Against the 'Harappan' Mother Goddess". In *Image and Imagination*, C. Renfrew & I. Morley, (eds.). Pp. 227-239. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research).
- Clark, S.R. 2009. Material Matters: Representation and Materiality of the Harappan Body. *Journal of Archaeology Method and Theory* 16:231-261.
- Conkey, M.W. 1992. Mobilising ideologies: the archaeologies of Paleolithic 'art'. Paper delivered to the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco.
- Conkey, M.W., Spector, J.D. 1984. Archaeology and the Study of Gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7:1-38.
- Daher, A. 1969. *A Study of Grave Groups from Tureng Tepe in Late Third and Early Second Millennia B.C. In Northeast Iran as Reconstructed from the Excavations during 1931-32*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Danesi, M. Perron, P. 1999. *Analyzing Culture: An Introduction and Handbook*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press).
- de Bode, C.A. 1844. On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Astarabad. *Archeologica* 30:248-255.
- Dales, G.F. 1960. *Mesopotamian and Related Figurines: Their Chronology, Diffusion, and Cultural Functions*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Dales, G. F. 1977. "Shifting Trade Patterns between the Iranian Plateau and the Indus Valley in the Third Millennium B.C.". In *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie Centrale des origines a la conquete islamique*. J. Deshayes (ed.). Pp. 67-78. (Paris: CNRS).
- Deshayes, J. 1963. Rapport preliminaire sur les deux premieres campagnes de fouille a Tureng Tepe. *Syria* 40: 85-99.
- Deshayes, J. 1965. Rapport preliminaire sur les troisieme et quatrieme campagnes de fouille a Tureng Tepe. *Iranica Antiqua* 5: 6-100.
- Deshayes, J. 1966. Rapport preliminaire sur la sixieme campagne de fouille a Tureng Tepe (1965). *Iranica Antiqua* 6: 1-5.
- Deshayes, J. 1967a. Ceramiques peintes de Tureng Tepe. *Iran* 5: 123-132.
- Deshayes, J. 1967b. Shorter notes: Tureng Tepe. *Iran* 5: 147.
- Deshayes, J. 1968. Shorter Notes: Tureng Tepe. *Iran* 6: 165-166.

- Deshayes, J. 1968. Tureng Tepe and the Plain of Gorgan in the Bronze Age. *Archaeologia* 1: 35-38.
- Deshayes, J. 1969a. New Evidence for the Indo-Europeans from Tureng Tepe, Iran. *Archaeology* 22(1): 10-17.
- Deshayes, J. 1969b. Tureng Tepe et la periode Hissar III C. *Ugaritica* 6: 139-163.
- Deshayes, J. 1970. Addendum: Tureng Tepe. *Iran* 8: 207-208.
- Deshayes, J. 1973. Rapport Preliminaire sur les septieme et huiteme campagnes de fouille a Tureng Tepe (1967 et 1969). *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 3: 81-97.
- Deshayes, J. 1974. La dixieme champagne de fouille a Torang Tappeh (1973). *Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*, F. Bagherzadeh (ed). I.C.A.R. Tehran.
- Deshayes, J. 1975. Les fouilles recentes de Tureng Tepe: La terrasse haute de la fin du III^e millenaire. *Comptes Rendus de Seances de L'Annee 1975 Novembre-Decembre*. Pp. 522-530. Paris.
- Deshayes, J. 1977. A propos des terrasses hautes de la fin du III^e millenaire en Iran et en Asie Centrale. *Le Plateau Iranen et L'Asie Centrale des Origines a la Conquete Islamique*: 95-110.
- de Morgan, J. 1896. *Mission scientifique en Perse*. (Paris: Editions de la Revue des Idees).
- Dobres, M-A. 1995. Gender and Prehistoric Technology: On the Social Agency of Technical Strategies. *World Archaeology* 27(1):25-49.
- Frachetti, M.D. 2012. Multiregional Emergence of Mobile Pastoralism and Nonuniform Institutional Complexity across Eurasia. *Current Anthropology* 53(1):2-38.
- Frank, A.G. 1993. Bronze Age World System Cycles. *Current Anthropology* 34(4):383-429.
- Frumkin, G. 1970. *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*. (Leiden: Brill).
- Gerhard, E. 1849. *Über Metroen und Gotter-Mutter*. Berlin.
- Gero, J., Conkey, W. 1991. *Engendering Archaeology*. (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Haaland, G., Haaland, R. 1995. Who speaks the goddess's language? Imagination and method in archaeological research. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 28: 105-21.
- Hamilton, N. 2000. "Ungendering Archaeology: Concepts of Sex and Gender in Figurine Studies in Prehistory". In *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to Present*, Moira

- Donald and L. Hurcombe, eds. Pp. 17-30. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.).
- Hiebert, F.T. 1994. *Origins of the Bronze Age Oasis Civilization in Central Asia – American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin 42*. (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Harvard University).
- Hiebert, F., Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. 1992. Central Asia and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands. *Iran* 30:1-15.
- Hodder, I., Hutson, S. 2003. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.
- Hutton, R. 1997. The Neolithic great goddess: a study in modern tradition. *Antiquity* 71(271):91-114.
- Jarrige, J-F. Lechevallier, M. 1979. "Excavations at Mehrgarh, Baluchistan: Their Significance in the Prehistorical Context of the Indo-Pakistani Borderlands". In *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, M. Tosi, (ed.). Pp. 463-535. (Napes: IUOSdSA).
- Jarrige C. 2005. "Human Figurines from the Neolithic Levels at Mehrgarh (Balochistan, Pakistan)". In *South Asian Archaeology 2003*. U. Franke-Vogt & H.-J. Weisshaar (eds.). Pp. 27-37. (Aachen, DE: FAAK 1).
- Joyce, Rosemary A. 1998. Performing the Body in Pre-Hispanic Central America. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33:147-165.
- Joyce, Rosemary A. 2007. "Figurines, Meaning and Meaning-making in Early Mesoamerica". In *Image and Imagination*, C. Renfrew & I. Morley, (eds.). Pp. 101-110. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research).
- Keane, W. 2005. "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things". In *Materiality*, D. Miller, (ed.). Pp. 182-205. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Kircho, L. 1992. "The Local Roots of Namazga V Culture". In *South Asian Archaeology 1989*, C. Jarrige, J.P. Gerry, & R.H. Meadow, (eds.). Pp. 161-66. (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press).
- Knapp, B. Meskell, L. 1997. Bodies of evidence in Prehistoric Cyprus. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7(2):183-204.
- Kohl, P.L. 1978. The Balance of Trade in Southwestern Asia in the Mid-Third Millennium B.C. *Current Anthropology* 19(3):463-492.
- Kohl, P.L. 1981. *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

- Kohl, P.L. 2007. *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge World Archaeology.
- Kuijt, I. and Chesson, M.S. 2005. Lumps of Clay and Pieces of Stone: Ambiguity, Bodies, and Identity as Portrayed in Neolithic Figurines. In *Archaeologies of the Middle East – Critical Perspectives*, Susan Pollock and R. Bernbeck, eds. Pp. 152-183. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd).
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. 1989. "Mesopotamia, Central Asia and the Indus Valley: so the kings were killed". In *Archaeological Thought in America*. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed. Pp. 241-267. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press).
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C., Meadow, R.H. 1970. A Unique Female Figurine: The Neolithic at Tepe Yahya. *Archaeology* 23(1):12-17.
- Lesure, R.G. 2002. The Goddess Diffracted – Thinking about the Figurines of Early Villages. *Current Anthropology* 43(4): 587-610.
- Lesure, R.G. 2005. Linking Theory and Evidence in an Archaeology of Human Agency: Iconography, Style and Theories of Embodiment. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12(3): 237-255.
- Mabry, J.B. 2003. The Birth of the Ancestors: The Meanings of Human Figurines in Near Eastern Neolithic Villages. In *The Near East in the Southwest: Essays in Honor of William G. Dever*, Beth A. Nakhai, ed. Pp.85-116. (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research).
- Mahfroozi, A., Piller, C.K. 2009. First preliminary report on the joint Iranian-German excavations at Gohar Tappe, Māzandarān, Iran. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 41:177-209.
- Martinez, L-A. 1990. *Les Inhumations de l'Age du Bronze de Tureng Tepe, Iran*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Universite de Paris I.
- Masimov, IS. (1981). "The study of bronze age sites in the lower Murghab." *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* 19(3-4):194-220.
- Masson, V.M. (1981). Urban Centers of Early Class Society. In Kohl 1981, Pp. 63-95.
- Masson, VM & Kiiatkina TP. 1981. Man at the Dawn of Civilization. In Kohl 1981, Pp. 107-134.
- Masson, VM & Sarianidi VI. 1973. *Sredniaziatckaya terrakota epokhi bronzy: opyt klassifikatsii i interpretatsii (Central Asian Terracottas of the Bronze Age: a classificatory and interpretive experiment)*. Nauka: Moscow.

- Meskel, L. 1995. Goddesses, Gimbutas and New Age archaeology, *Antiquity* 69:74-86.
- Meskel, Lynn. 1996. The somatization of archaeology: Institutions, discourses, corporeality. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 29(1):1-16.
- Meskel, L. 2007. "Refiguring the Corpus at Catalhoyuk". In *Image and Imagination*, C. Renfrew & I. Morley, (eds.). Pp. 137-150. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research).
- Meskel L, Nakamura C, King R, Farid S. 2008. Figured Lifeworlds and Depositional Practices at Çatalhöyük. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18(2): 139-61.
- Mina, M. 2007. Figurines without Sex: People without Gender?. In *Archaeology and Women*, Sue Hamilton, R.D. Whitehouse, K.I. Wright, eds. Pp. 263-82. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.).
- Nakamura C, Meskel L. 2009. Articulate Bodies: Forms and Figures at Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 16: 205-230.
- Negahbān, E. 1979. Pottery and Bronze Human Figurines of Mārlik (Tafeln 29-34), *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 12:157-174.
- Piller, C.K. 2008. *Untersuchungen zur relative Chronologie der Nekropole von Marlik*. Unpublished Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.
- Piotrovsky, Y. 2003. "Altyn-Depe". In *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus*. J. Aruz & R. Wallenfels, eds. Pp. 355-365. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
- Preucel, R.W. 2006. *Archaeological Semeiotics*. (Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.).
- Ratnagar, S. 2001. The Bronze Age: Unique instance of a pre-industrial world system?. *Current Anthropology* 42(3):351-365.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1920. The Sumerian Treasure of Astrabad. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6(1):4-27.
- Rothman, M.S. 2001. *Uruk Mesopotamia & Its Neighbors: Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. (Santa Fe: School of American Research).
- Samzun, A. 1992. "Observations on the Characteristics of the Pre-Harappan Remains, Pottery, and Artifacts at Nausharo, Pakistan (2700-2500 B.C.)". In *South Asian Archaeology 1989*, C. Jarrige, J.P. Gerry, & R.H. Meadow, (eds.). Pp. 245-252. (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press).

- Sarianidi, V.I. 1968. "The most ancient Art of south Turkmenia and the Iranian Parallel". In *Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology vol 2*, M.Y. Kiani and A. Tajvidi (eds). Pp. 383-390. (Tehran: ICAR).
- Sarianidi, V.I. 1981. "Margiana in the bronze age". In Kohl 1981, Pp. 165-193.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1937. *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan*. Philadelphia (PA): The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Solovyova, N. F. (2005) Chalcolithic Anthropomorphic Figurines from Ilgynly-depe, Southern Turkmenistan: Classification, Analysis and Catalogue. BAR International Series S1336. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Sørensen, M.L.S. 2000. *Gender Archaeology*. (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd.).
- Sørensen, M.L.S. 2007. On Gender Negotiation and its Materiality. In *Archaeology and Women*, Sue Hamilton, Ruth Whitehouse and K I Wright, eds. Pp. 41-54. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.).
- Stein, G.J. 1999. *Rethinking world-systems: diasporas, colonies and interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press).
- Talalay, L. 1993. *Deities, dolls, and devices : Neolithic figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Talalay, L. 1994. A Feminist Boomerang: The Great Goddess of Greek Prehistory. *Gender & History* 6(2):165-183.
- Thornton, C.P. 2009. *The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Metallurgy of Tepe Hissar, Northeast Iran: A Challenge to the 'Levantine Paradigm'*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Tosi, M. 1974. "The Lapis Lazuli Trade across the Iranian Plateau in the 3rd Millennium B.C.". In *Gururajamanjarika. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*. Pp.3-20. (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale).
- Tosi, M. 1979. "The proto-urban Cultures of Eastern Iran and the Indus Civilization. Notes and Suggestions for a Spatio-temporal Frame to study the Early Relations between India and Iran". In *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, M. Taddei (ed). Pp. 149-171. (Naples: IUOSdSA).
- Tringham, R.E. & Conkey, M. 1998. "Rethinking Figurines: a critical view from archaeology of Gimbutas, the „Goddess" and popular culture". In *Ancient Goddesses, Myths and the Evidence*. L. Goodison & C. Morris, (eds). Pp. 22-45. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).

- Ucko, P.J. 1962. The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 92:38-54.
- Ucko, P.J. 1968. *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece*. London: Andrew Szmidla.
- Ucko, P.J. 1996. Mother, are you there?. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6:300-304.
- Verhoeven, M. 2002. Ritual and Ideology in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Levant and Southeast Anatolia. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 233-258.
- Vetters, M. 'Thou Shalt Make Many Images of Thy Gods': A *Chaine Operatoire* Approach to Mycenaean Religious Rituals Based on Iconographic and Contextual Analyses of Plaster and Terracotta Figures". In *Tracing Prehistoric Social Networks through Technology*, A. Byrbaert, (ed.). Pp. 30-47. (New York: Routledge).
- Voigt, Mary M. 1983. *Hajji Firuz Tepe, Iran: the Neolithic settlement*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum).
- Voigt, M.M. 2000. "Catal Hoyuk in Context: Ritual and Early Neolithic sites in central and eastern Turkey". In *Life in Neolithic farming communities: social organization, identity and differentiation*. I. Kuijt, ed. Pp. 253-293. (New York: Kluwer Academic).
- Voigt, M.M. Dyson, R.H.D. 1992. "The Chronology of Iran, ca 8000-2000 B.C." in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, 3rd ed. R. Ehrich, (ed.). pp. 122-78. (Chicago:
- Yates, T. 1993. Frameworks for an Archaeology of the Body. In *Interpretive Archaeology*. C. Tilley, ed. Pp. 31-72. (Oxford: Berg Publishers).
- Wulsin, F.R. 1932. Excavations at Tureng Tepe, Near Astarabad. *Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* 2(1): 1-12.

Appendix: Catalog, Photographs & Drawings

This appendix presents the figurines as a catalog for ease of reference. The catalog summarizes the most important information contained on the catalog cards in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives. It also presents the photographs and drawings produced by the Wulsins and the author.

Non-glossy prints produced by the Wulsins in the 1930s were made available by the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives. These prints included photographs produced during the 1930 survey of the Gorgān by Fredrick Wulsin and his team, miscellaneous photographs from life around the site, hundreds of artifact photographs, a handful of photos of the crew at work, and only two photographs of intact archaeological deposits. The author produced the color photographs in 2011 at the Near Eastern Collections Lab at UPM. Unfortunately, photographic records of many of the fragmentary pieces are missing, but drawings of all the pieces were scanned from the object catalog cards at the UPM Archives. The photographs are arranged in numerical order according to the field numbers assigned by the Wulsins.

The Wulsins produced drawings of each figurine piece in the field in 1931. These drawings are mostly line and ink sketches and are generally drawn at $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ scale. The author produced pencil on grid drawings of the figurines at UPM in 2011 as an exercise in observational rigor. The Wulsins's drawings will be included here.

The drawings and photographs are presented along with the entry for each of the pieces in the catalog.

Catalog

Criteria

This catalog provides the information for each figurine (or figurine fragment) in standardized form. The format is adapted from Talalay (1993). For each figurine, the following information is provided:

Wulsin Field Number

- A) UPM Accession Number (if applicable)
- B) Brief Qualitative Description
- C) Color
- D) Maximum remaining height/length (if available)
- E) Maximum remaining width/breadth (if available)
- F) Maximum remaining thickness (if available)
- G) Break-points
- H) Find-Spot (Excavation Unit, Grid Coordinates, Elevation in meters)
- I) Sex/Gender (if identifiable)
- J) Photograph
- K) Line & Ink Drawing

Each of these categories of information should be self-explanatory, but for the sake of analytical rigor, each will be specified with a brief description below:

Field Number – This denotes the catalog number assigned to the artifact by the Wulsins in the field in 1931. E.g. TT024, TT650c, etc.

- A) UPM Accession Number – This denotes the catalog number assigned to the artifact at the time of its curation in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. If the figurine remained in Tehran, then no UPM number is listed.
- B) Brief Qualitative Description – This space is for quick comments on the figurine or figurine fragment holistically.
- C) Color – This element of figurines was not systematically controlled for using the Munsell Soil Color Charts. Nevertheless, the color of the figurines has the potential to be quite instructive about things such as “intentional control and duplication of manufacturing processes and/or firing techniques, and, perhaps, a very limited selection of clay sources” (Talalay 1993:17).

- D) The complete dimensions of every figurine and fragment were not available, so the most basic metrics (maximums) will be presented. Also covers F & G. All dimensions given in centimeters.
- G) Break points – Where the figurine has been broken. Some scholars believe breakage patterns can be instructive as to the use and/or function of figurines in prehistory (cf. Voigt 2000, Talalay 1987, 1994, Chapman 2000). Whether or not this is possible, it is still a good idea to explicitly discuss where the figurines are broken, in case a pattern emerges.
- H) Find-Spot – This category details where the figurines were recovered. It will only be specific to the Excavation Unit and a grid coordinate, some of which are accurate to 10cm, but most of which are accurate only to 1m or less. Where possible, the accuracy of the measurement will be commented on.
- I) Sex/Gender – This category is extremely problematic in the broader figurine literature, as many figurines are sufficiently schematic or so poorly modeled as to prohibit reasonable identification of sex/gender via figurines. The examples from Tureng Tepe, however, with few exceptions, have very clearly indicated sexual characteristics. Whether this permits identification of prehistoric sexualities or genders is an open question, but for now, it will be useful to systematically describe these features and to see if a pattern emerges.
- J) Photograph – Black and White Photographs are from the UPM Archives, presumably taken by Fredrick or Susanne Wulsin. Color Photographs were taken by the author.
- K) Line & Ink Drawings – From the UPM Archives. Presumably drawn by Fredrick or Susanne Wulsin.

TT023

- A) --
- B) Mostly complete figurine
- C) Red
- D) 24.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Left ear broken off; Tip of right leg broken off. Otherwise intact.
- H) EU: Trench 2a; Grid location: A+25 x J-50; Elevation: 105.70m
- I) Female
- J)

K)
Not Available



TT024

- A) 32-41-68
- B) Most of a figurine
- C) Paste: Reddish Orange; Slip: Dark Ferrous Red
- D) 23
- E) 8.5
- F)
- G) Left ear broken off; Left leg broken off below knee; Right leg broken off below shin
- H) EU: Trench 2a; Grid Location: A+25 x J-50; Elevation: 105.70m
- I) Female

TT024 con't

J)

K)

Not Available



TT025

A) 32-41-69

B) Most of a figurine

C) Light Red

D) 26.3

E) 8.5

F) --

G) Right leg broken off; Front broken off below hand on right side

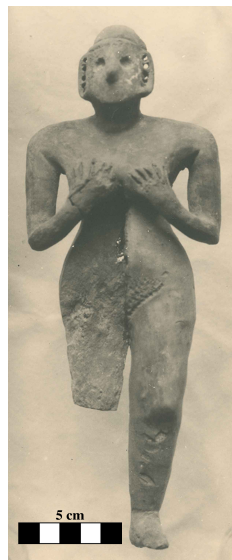
H) EU: Trench 2a; Grid location: A+25 x J-50; Elevation: 105.70m

I) Female

J)

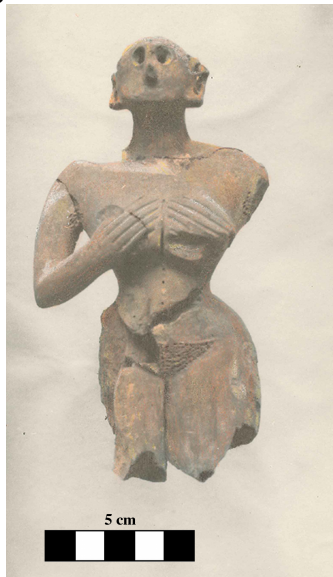
K)

Not Available



TT026

- A) --
- B) Head, Torso, Right arm and Left thigh of a figurine
- C) Red
- D) 17
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Top of head broken off; Missing left arm, right thigh & both legs
- H) EU: Trench 2a; Grid location: A+25 x J-50; Elevation: 105.70
- I) Female
- J)
- K) Not Available

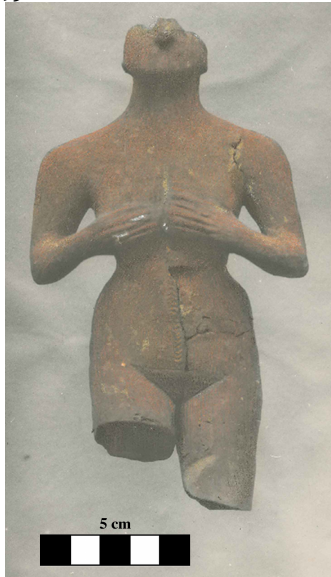


TT027

- A) --
- B) Most of a figurine
- C) Red
- D) 17.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Top of head broken off; Missing both legs
- H) EU: Trench 2a; Grid location: A+25 x J-50; Elevation: 105.70
- I) Female

TT027 con't

J)



K)

Not Available

TT173

A) --

B) Hip fragment of a figurine

C) Grey

D) 10

E) 3.7

F) 3.7

G) Broken off below and above hip

H) EU: Trench 2a; Elevation: above 105.37m

I) Unidentifiable

J)

Not Available

K)

Not Available

TT174

A) 32-41-70

B) Hip fragment of a figurine

C) Grey

D) 8.7

E) circumference = 7.5

F) --

G) Broken off above waist and in middle of leg

H) EU: Trench 2a; Elevation: no lower than 105.37

I) Unidentifiable (possibly female)

TT174 con't

J)

K)

Not Available



TT175

A) --

B) Hip or leg fragment of figurine

C) Dark Grey or Black

D) 6

E) circumference = 6.5

F) --

G) Broken off above waist, presumably above knee

H) EU: Trench 2

I) Unidentifiable

J)

Not Available

K)

Not Available

TT176

A) --

B) Hip fragment of a figurine

C) Grey

D) 11

E) circumference = 10.9

F) --

G) Not indicated

H) EU: Trench 2a, North Extension

I) Unidentifiable

J)

Not Available

K)

Not Available

TT177

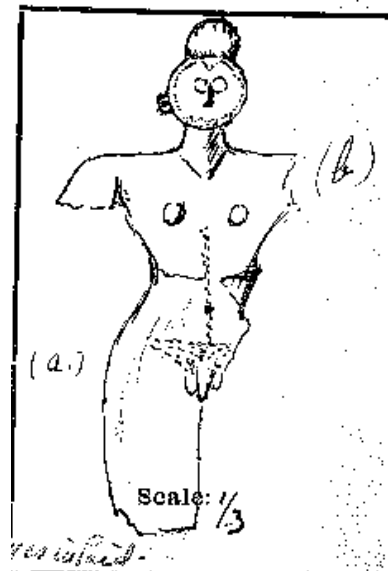
- A) --
- B) Hip fragment of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 5.3
- E) circumference = 7cm
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: ; Grid location: ; Elevation:
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT221

- A) --
- B) Most of a figurine
- C) Reddish
- D) 23.3
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Right arm broken off below shoulder; Left arm broken off at shoulder; Right leg missing below knee, Left leg and part of torso broken off
- H) a) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x K+50; Elevation: 105.47m || b) EU: Square 2; Grid Location: A x J+50; Elevation: 105.61m
- I) Male
- J)



K)



TT243

- A) --
- B) Head of a figurine
- C) Red
- D) 5.53
- E) 4.42
- F) 2.72
- G) Top of head not indicated; Broken off where shoulders meet neck
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A+25 x J+50; Elevation: 105.45m
- I) Probably Female
- J) Not Available
- K)



Scale: 1:1

TT255

- A) --
- B) Hip and torso fragment of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 5.9
- E) 2.74
- F) 3.1
- G) Broken off at bottom of breast, down middle of torso and above leg
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: D x L+100; Elevation: 105.50m
- I) Probably Female

TT255 con't

J)
Not Available

K)



Scale: 1:1

TT269

- A) 32-41-63
- B) Sitting Hip fragment of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 5.5
- E) 7.5
- F) 3.5
- G) Broken off above waist; Broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: L+100 x B+100; Elevation: 105.30m
- I) Possibly Female
- J)

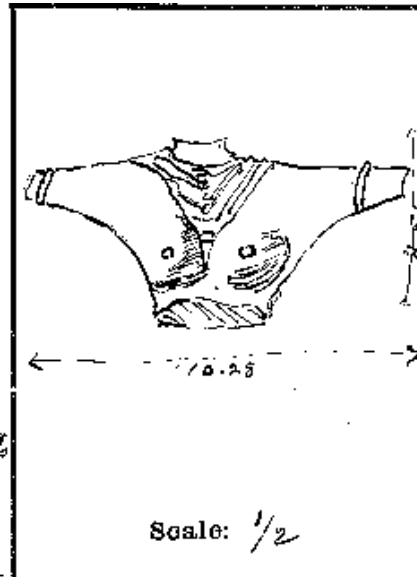
K)



TT300

- A) --
- B) Torso and part of arms of a figurine
- C) Dark blue grey
- D) 4.56
- E) 10.28
- F) 2.7
- G) Broken off at neck, middle of both arms and just below breasts
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: E x L; Elevation: 105.20m
- I) Female
- J) Not Available

K)



TT301

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment and head of figurine
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Both arms broken off; Missing left ear; Missing right half of torso; Broken completely off below breasts
- H) a) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B+25 x K+90; Elevation: 105.20-105.30m ||
b) EU: Square 2; Grid Location: A x L+50; Elevation: 105.20-105.30m
- I) Female

TT301 con't

J)
Not Available

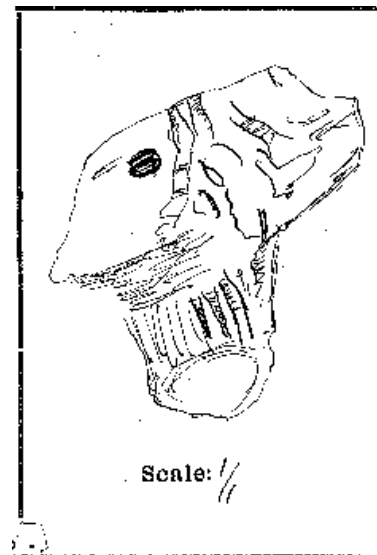
K)



TT321

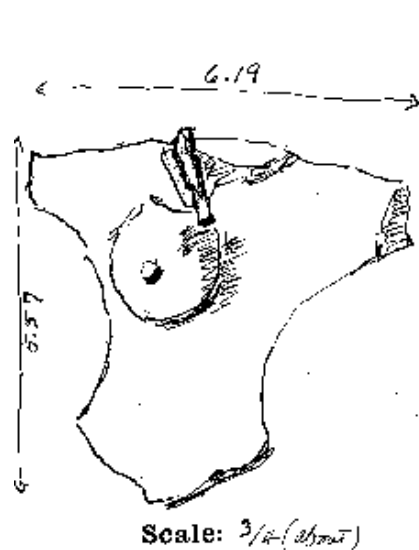
- A) 32-41-65
- B) Head of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 6
- E) 4
- F) --
- G) Top and pieces of headdress broken off; Broken off at neck
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: F x M; Elevation: 105.00-105.20m
- I) Female
- J)

K)



TT322

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment of figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 5.57
- E) 6.19
- F) 2.66
- G) Broken off at neck; both arms missing; broken off at waist
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: C x K; Elevation: 106.00-106.20m
- I) Female
- J) K)
- Not Available



TT323

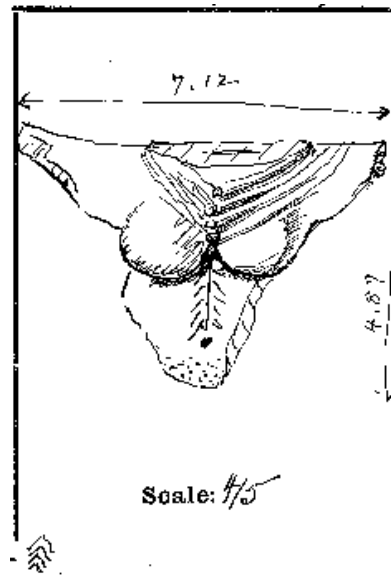
- A) 32-41-66
- B) Torso fragment of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 4.87
- E) 7.12
- F) 2.46
- G) Broken off at neck; Both arms missing; Broken off at top of pubis
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B+150 x M; Elevation: 105.11m
- I) Female

TT323 con't

J)



K)



TT324

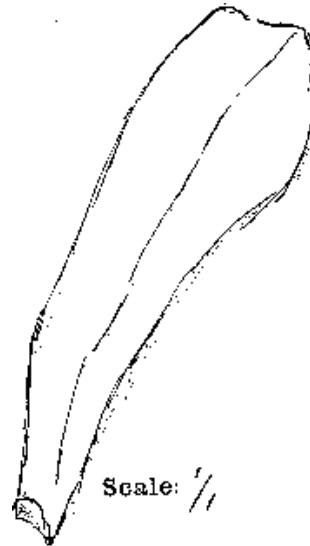
- A) --
- B) Leg fragment of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 9.23
- E) 2.15
- F) 2.72
- G) Broken off at waist and below knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B+150 x M; Elevation: 105.11m
- I) Possibly Female
- J) Not Available

K)



TT325

- A) --
- B) Leg fragment of a figurine
- C) Grey
- D) 5.3
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below waist & below knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: D x L; Elevation: 106.40m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



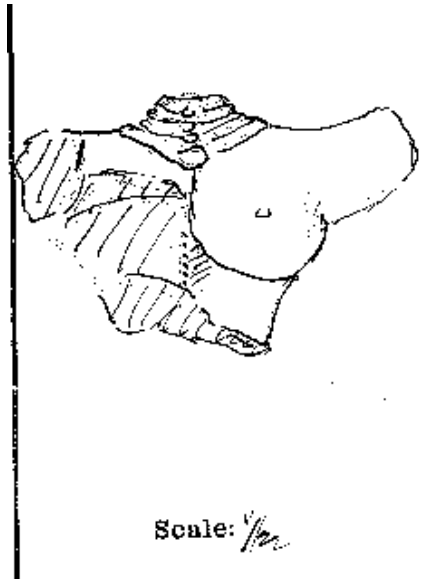
TT326

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment of a figurine
- C) Grey
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck, middle of biceps on both arms; Right breast missing; Broken off in middle of stomach
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B x L+100; Elevation: 104.90m
- I) Female

TT326 con't

J)
Not Available

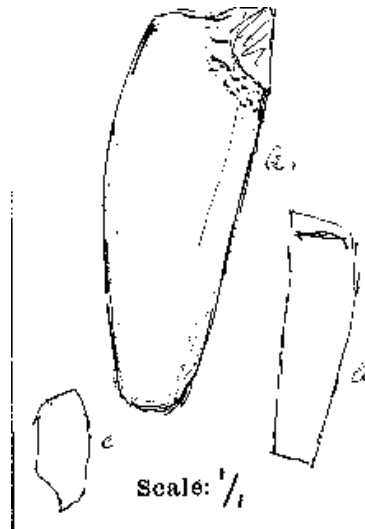
K)



TT327

- A) --
- B) Several Leg fragments of a figurine
- C) Grey
- D) largest piece = 5.6
- E) --
- F) --
- G) largest piece broken off at pubis and above knee; smaller pieces just fragments
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: E x L; Elevation: 104.70-105.10m
- I) Possibly female
- J)
Not Available

K)



TT328

- A) --
- B) Foot fragment of a figurine
- C) Light Grey
- D) 3.4
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Elevation: 107.00-107.50m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



Scale: 1/1

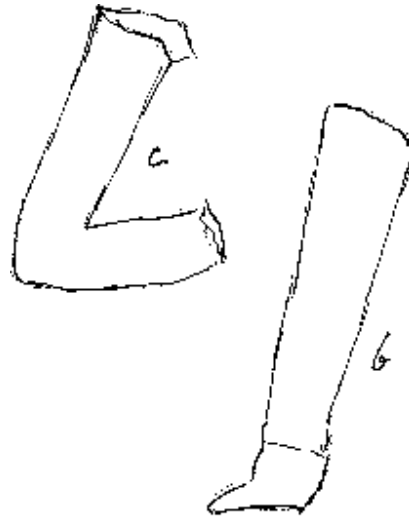
TT329

- A) --
- B) Fragments of two arms and a leg of (multiple?) figurines
- C) Grey
- D) (a) 5 (b) 5.3 (c) 3.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Arms broken off at shoulders and mid forearm; Leg broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square; Grid location: ~J+100 x C+100; Elevation: 105.25-105.60m
- I) Unidentifiable

TT329 con't

J)
Not Available

K)

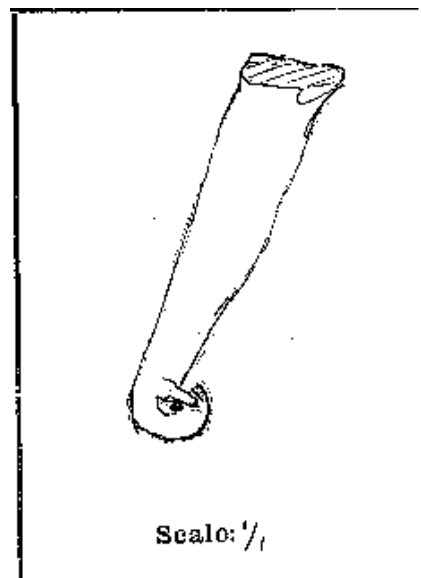


Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$

TT330

A) --
B) Arm and curled fist of a figurine
C) Dark Grey
D) 5.7
E) --
F) --
G) Broken off below elbow
H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: From Backdirt; Elevation: ~105.25m
I) Male
J)
Not Available

K)



Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$

TT331

- A) --
- B) Arm fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 4.2
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at shoulder and above elbow
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B x K; Elevation: 105.30-105.60m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$

TT332

- A) --
- B) Foot fragment of a figurine
- C) Grey
- D) 4.45
- E) 1.4
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~E x L+100; Elevation: 105.10-105.40m
- I) Unidentifiable

TT332 con't

J)
Not Available

K)

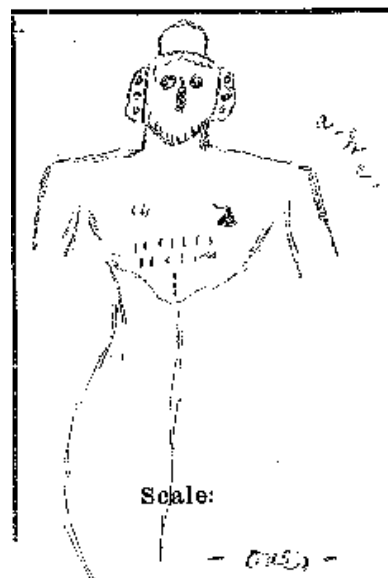


Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$

TT348

- A) 32-41-67
- B) Head and Torso fragment that fit with pieces TT359 & TT360
- C) Red
- D) 24.25
- E) 9
- F) 2.1
- G) Missing both arms below mid-bicep; Broken off below chest
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x L; Elevation: 104.75m
- I) Male
- J)

K)



TT354

- A) --
- B) Head of a figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 4.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at shoulders
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: C+100 x M; Elevation: 105.40-106m
- I) Female
- J) Not Available
- K)



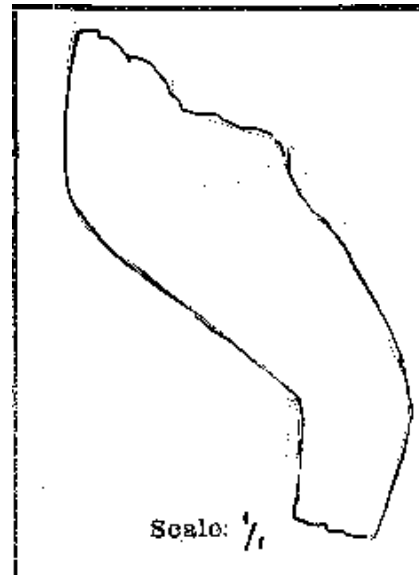
TT355

- A) --
- B) Sitting hip fragment of a figurine
- C) Grey
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at waist and below knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Elevation: 105.40-106m
- I) Unidentifiable

TT355 con't

J)
Not Available

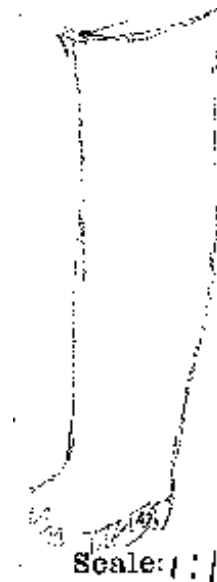
K)



TT356

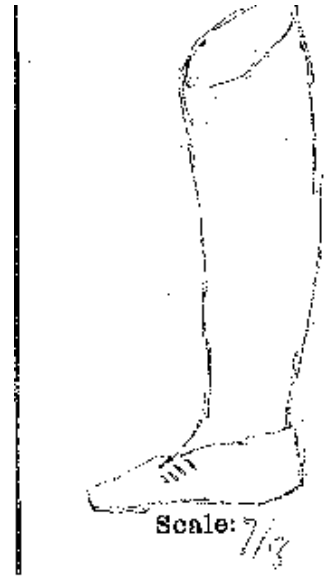
- A) --
- B) Leg fragment of a figurine
- C) Reddish
- D) 7.2
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee and at middle of foot
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: B+100 x K+100; Elevation: 105.94
- I) Unidentifiable
- J)
Not Available

K)



TT357

- A) --
- B) Leg fragment of a figurine
- C) Red
- D) 7.85
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: J+150 x A+50; Elevation: 105.47
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



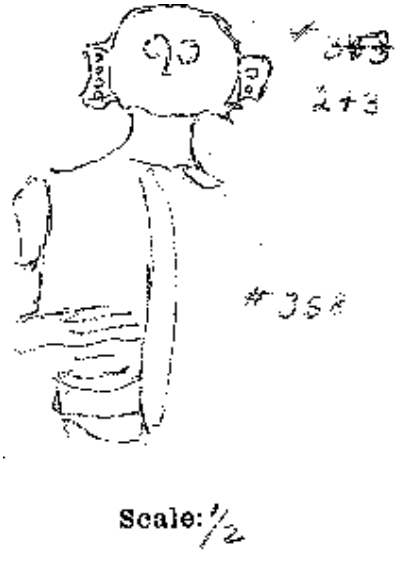
TT358

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment with hand on breast (belongs with TT243)
- C) Red
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck; broken at right shoulder; left side broken missing
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x J+150; Elevation: 105.50-106m
- I) Female

TT358 con't

J)
Not Available

K)



TT359

- A) 32-41-67
- B) Foot fragment of a figurine
- C) Red
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Presumably broken off at shin
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x ~K+100; Elevation: 105.40-105.60m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J)
Not Available
- K)
Not Available

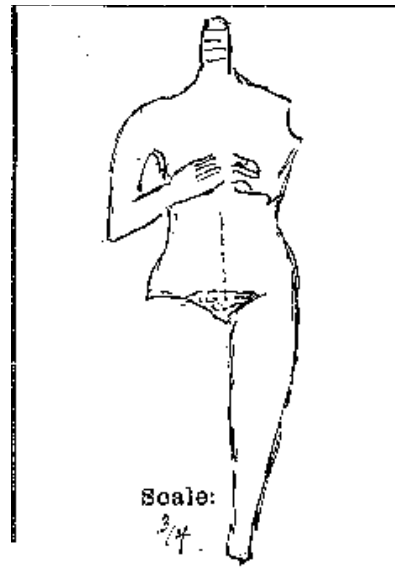
TT360

- A) --
- B) Arm fragment
- C) Red
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x ~J+100; Elevation: 105.40-106m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J)
Not Available
- K)
Not Available

TT361

- A) --
- B) Most of a figurine in three pieces (a, b, & c)
- C) Reddish
- D) 25
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck; Left arm missing; Right leg missing
- H) a) EU: Square 2; Grid location: Not indicated ; Elevation: 105.20-105.50m
|| b) & c) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 104.60-105.40m
- I) Female
- J) Not Available

K)



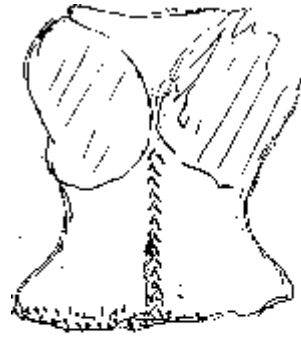
TT362

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) 7.1
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck and top of pubis; both arms missing.
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.20-105.60m
- I) Female

TT362 con't

J)
Not Available

K)



Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

TT363

- A) --
- B) Right side of a figurine, shoulder to above knee, front only
- C) Reddish
- D) 11.5
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken at neck, shoulder and knee; fragment separated at medial axis
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: A+50 x L ; Elevation: 105.20-105.60m
- I) Female
- J)
Not Available

K)



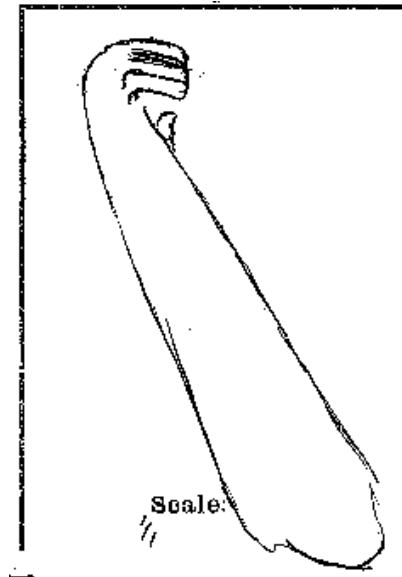
Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

TT364

- A) 32-41-64
- B) Arm fragment with curled fist attached
- C) Reddish
- D) 8.1
- E) circumference max = 6.7
- F) circumference min = ~5.3
- G) Broken off below elbow
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: F x M; Elevation: 105.20-105.40m
- I) Male
- J)



K)



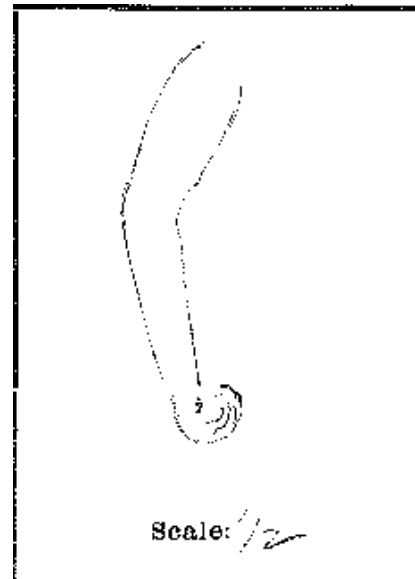
TT365

- A) --
- B) Arm fragment with intact curled fist
- C) Reddish
- D) 10.2
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at shoulder
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Backdirt; Elevation: ~106.00-106.30m
- I) Unidentifiable

TT365 con't

J)
Not Available

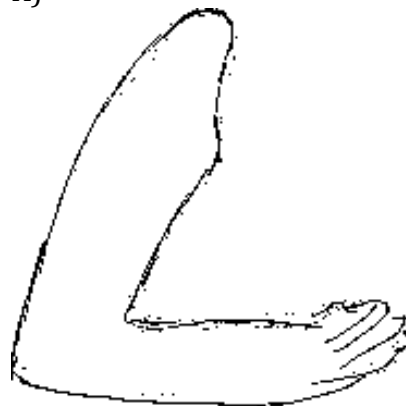
K)



TT366

- A) --
- B) Arm fragment with hand intact
- C) Red
- D) 12.4
- E)
- F)
- G) Broken off at shoulder
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.20-106.00m
- I) Probably Female
- J)
Not Available

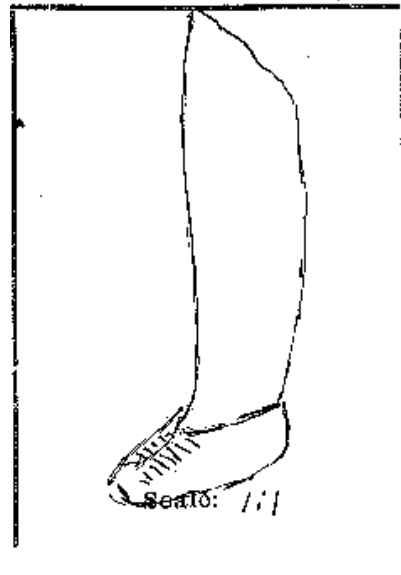
K)



Scale: 3/4

TT367

- A) --
- B) Red leg fragment with intact foot
- C) Reddish
- D) Leg = 7.8; Foot = 3.5
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.20-106.00m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



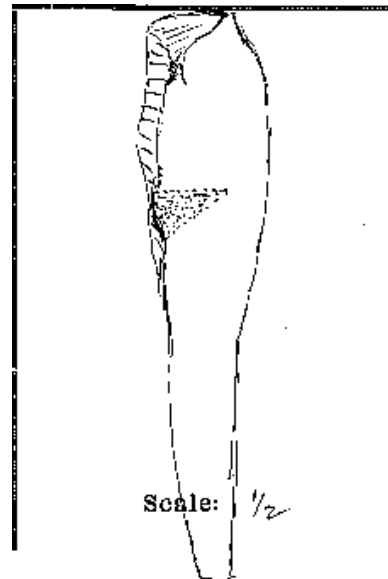
TT368

- A) --
- B) Hip and leg fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) 17.1
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at middle of stomach and below knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: F x J; Elevation: 105.20
- I) Female

TT368 con't

J)
Not Available

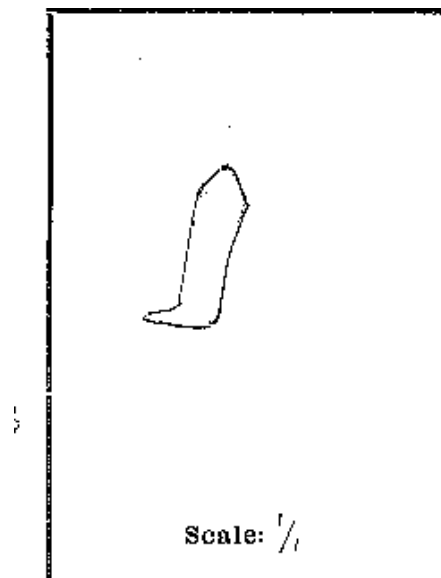
K)



TT369

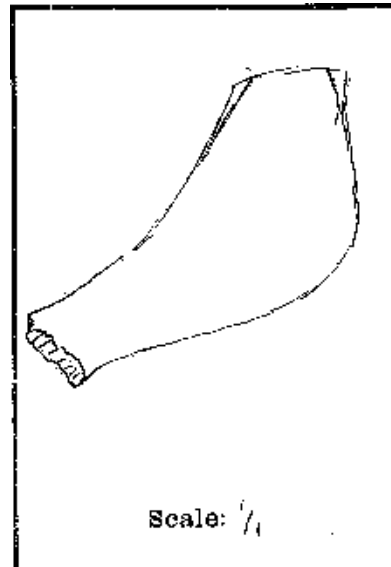
A) --
B) Foot fragment
C) Grey
D) 2.3
E) --
F) --
G) Broken off at mid-shin
H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A+100 x K; Elevation: 104.00-104.20m
I) Unidentifiable
J)
Not Available

K)



TT370

- A) --
- B) Sitting hip fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 5.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken at waist and above knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 104.00-104.30m
- I) Possibly female?
- J) Not Available
- K)



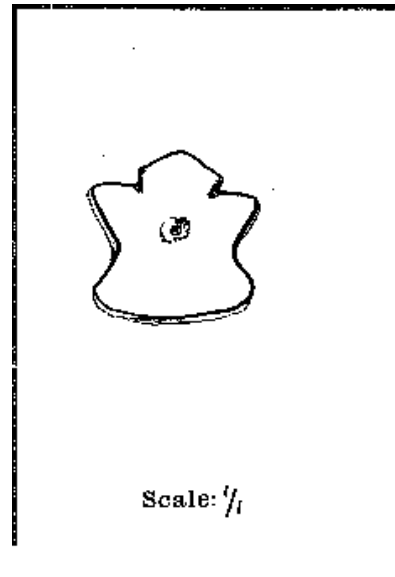
TT385

- A) --
- B) Anthropomorphic Pendant
- C) Grey
- D) 2.4
- E) 2.4
- F) 0.4
- G) --
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: D x L; Elevation: 105.50m
- I) Female

TT385 con't

J)
Not Available

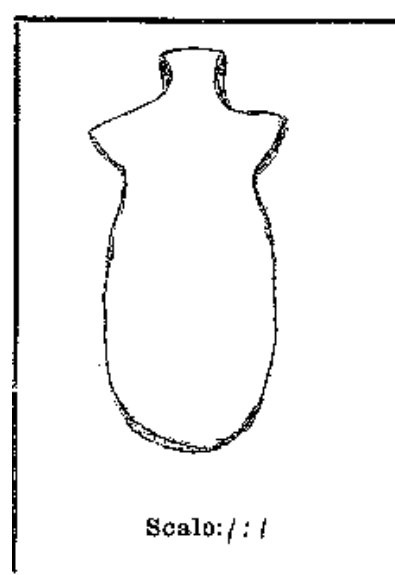
K)



TT444

A) --
B) Anthropomorphic Pendant
C) Grey
D) 5.89
E) 2.28
F) 0.28-0.63
G) --
H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: BCxj; Elevation: 104.00m
I) Probably female
J)
Not Available

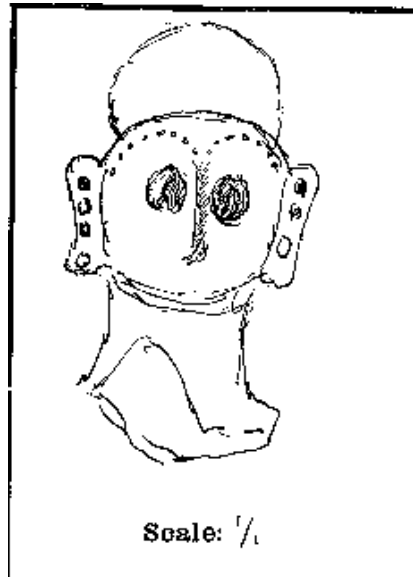
K)



TT640

- A) --
- B) Unattached head
- C) Reddish
- D) 6.5
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck; back of bun missing; eye inlays missing
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.10m
- I) Probably Female
- J) Not Available

K)



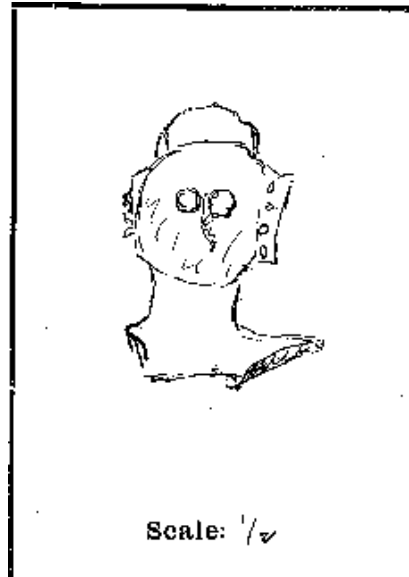
TT641

- A) --
- B) Disattached head
- C) Reddish
- D) 7.7
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at shoulders; right ear missing
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: F x J; Elevation: 105.20-105.30m
- I) Probably female

TT641 con't

J)
Not Available

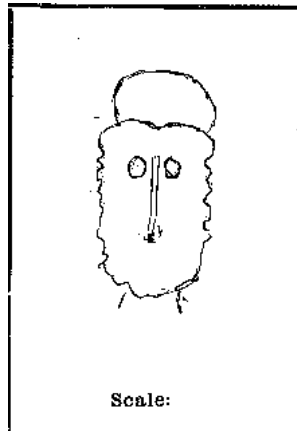
K)



TT642

A) --
B) Unattached head
C) Reddish
D) 4.1
E) --
F) --
G) Broken off at neck
H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.20-105.40m
I) Uncertain
J)
Not Available

K)

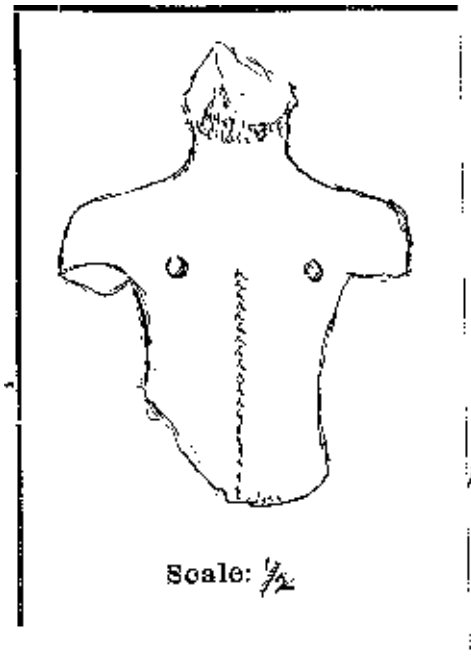


TT643

- A) 32-41-62
- B) Torso fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) 10.7
- E) 8.5
- F) --
- G) Broken off at chin, below shoulders and just above pubis
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: F x J+75; Elevation: 105.20-105.40
- I) Male
- J)



K)



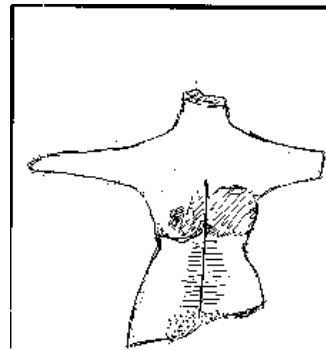
TT644

- A) --
- B) Torso fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) 7.3
- E) 10.5
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck and top of pubis; Left breast and tip of left arm missing
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: E x L; Elevation: 105.20
- I) Female

TT644 con't

J)
Not Available

K)

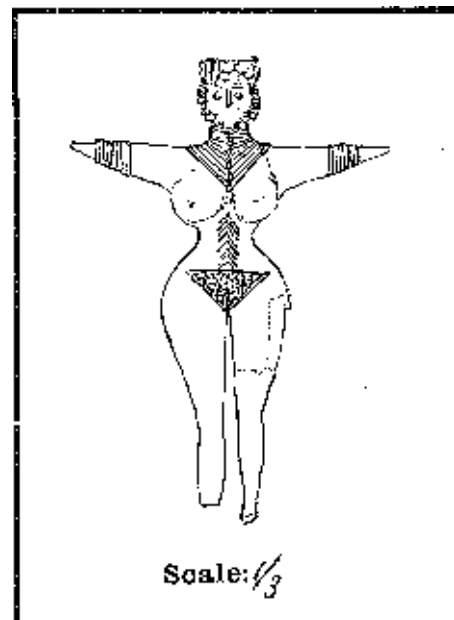


Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

TT648

- A) 32-41-25
- B) Complete Figurine
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 18.2
- E) 12.4
- F) --
- G) Missing right foot; Chunk of left hip broken
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: A x L (B52); Elevation: 104.55
- I) Female
- J)

K)



Scale: $\frac{1}{3}$

TT650a

- A) --
- B) Lower Leg fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) Leg = 5.7; Foot = 3
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Presumably below knee
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650b

- A) --
- B) Lower Leg fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) Leg = 5.6
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650c

- A) --
- B) Lower Leg fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) Leg = 4.8; Foot = 2.7
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650d

- A) --
- B) Shoulder and arm fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Presumably at shoulder and above elbow
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650e

- A) --
- B) Shoulder and arm fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Presumably at shoulder and above elbow
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650f

- A) --
- B) Arm fragment with bent elbow
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650g

- A) --
- B) Lower arm and part of hand fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650h

- A) --
- B) Arm and elbow fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650i

- A) --
- B) Arm or leg fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650j

- A) --
- B) Waist fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650k

- A) --
- B) Top part of legs fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650q

- A) --
- B) Right thigh and hip fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Possibly female?
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650r

- A) --
- B) Leg or Hip fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650s

- A) --
- B) Leg or Hip fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650t

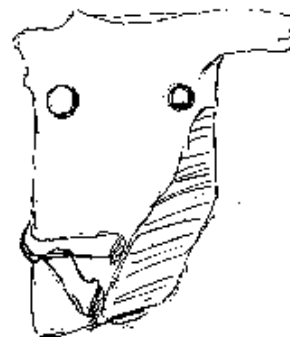
- A) --
- B) Leg or Hip fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT650u

- A) --
- B) Tiny foot fragment
- C) Reddish
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Not Indicated
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~A x ~J; Elevation: 104-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K) Not Available

TT651

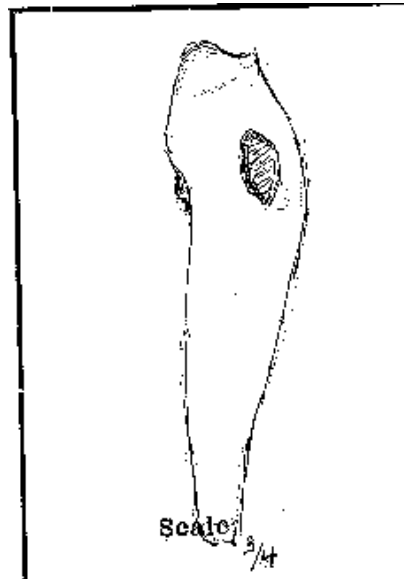
- A) --
- B) Torso fragment
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 7.1
- E) 6.23
- F) --
- G) Broken off at neck, right shoulder, left bicep, right half of torso missing below nipple.
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 105.10m
- I) Probably Male
- J) Not Available
- K)



Scale: $\frac{3}{4}$

TT652

- A) --
- B) Hip and Leg fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 7.8
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at waist and above foot
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: Backdirt; Elevation: Not indicated
- I) Possibly Male
- J) Not Available
- K)



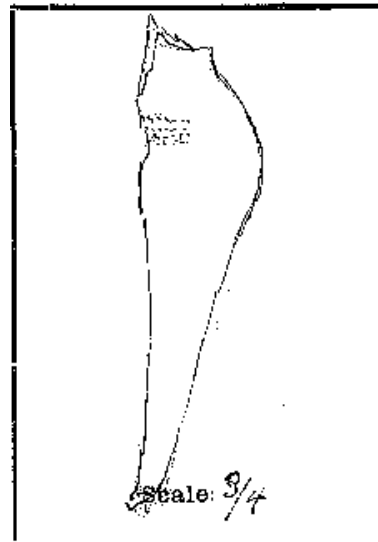
TT653

- A) --
- B) Hip and Leg fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 11.1
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at waist
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not Indicated; Elevation: 105.20-105.70m
- I) Probably Female

TT653 con't

J)
Not Available

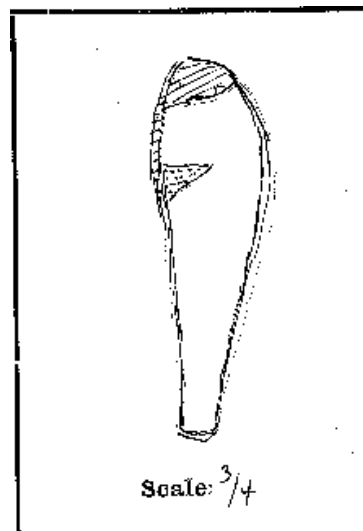
K)



TT654

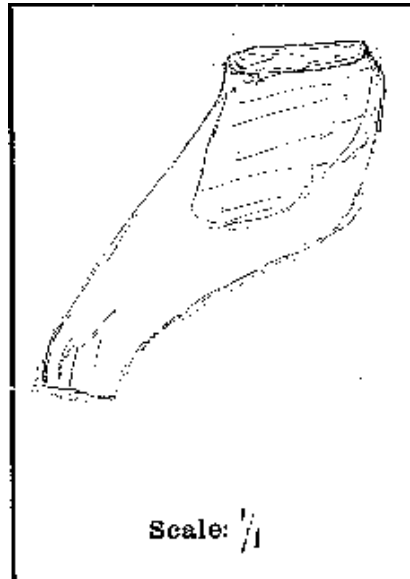
A) --
B) Hip and Leg fragment
C) Light Grey
D) --
E) --
F) --
G) Broken off at waist, above foot
H) EU: Road east of Mound A; Grid location: Not Indicated; Elevation: surface
I) Probably female
J)
Not Available

K)



TT655

- A) --
- B) Sitting Hip and Leg fragment
- C) Dark Grey
- D) 6.6
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off at waist and at knee
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not indicated; Elevation: 104.50
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available
- K)



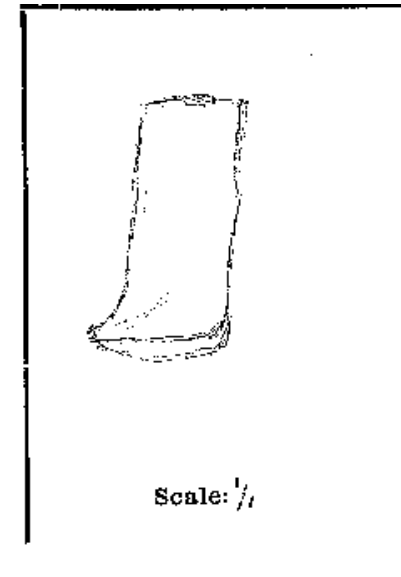
TT656

- A) --
- B) Foot fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 3.9
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee, above toes
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: ~B+50 x ??; Elevation: ~105m
- I) Unidentifiable

TT656 con't

J)
Not Available

K)



TT657

- A) --
- B) Foot fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 5.1
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below knee, above toes
- H) EU: Square 3; Grid location: Not Indicated; Elevation: 105.00-105.20m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J)
Not Available

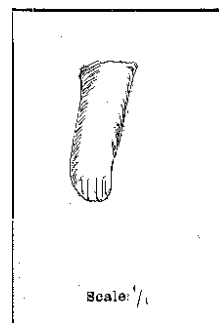
K)



TT658

- A) --
- B) Extended hand fragment
- C) Grey
- D) 3.7
- E) --
- F) --
- G) Broken off below elbow
- H) EU: Square 2; Grid location: Not Indicated; Elevation: 103.80-104.00m
- I) Unidentifiable
- J) Not Available

K)



TT???

- A) 32-41-20
- B) Anthropomorphic Pendant
- C) Grey
- D) --
- E) --
- F) --
- G) --
- H) --
- I) Female
- J) Not Available

K)

